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PROBLEMS OF
AMERICAN
DEMOCRACY

HUGHES

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PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

BY

R. O. HUGHES

PEABODY HIGH SCHOOL, PITTSBURGH



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FOREWORD

THE highest ideal of our schools is to produce good citizens. Good citizenship calls for an understanding of the great problems which a democracy such as ours must face. The good citizen does not expect to be an expert at solving every problem; but he at least may know that certain important problems exist and he may establish sound principles on which to base his thinking with reference to them.

The last opportunity that millions of our citizens will ever have to consider some of these problems in a formal way is in the secondary school. Here education for the many ceases. And even for the smaller number who go to college it is well that at the age when they begin to form positive opinions a definite opportunity should be afforded to consider the great questions of society, industry, and government. And so we have in many schools, and shall have in many more, a course known as Problems of Democracy.

Such a course should consider not only the problems of government, though these may well be looked upon as connecting links by which to bind together all the interests of the American citizen, but also the great questions of social and industrial relationships which are in every way as vital as any questions of government. Indeed, government exists because we have social and economic problems which cannot be solved without its aid.

Each question that is treated here is considered a real *problem*. The effort is made, first, to state conditions as they are; second, to discover, without going too deeply into pure history, the reasons for these conditions; third, to decide what ought to be done about them. While mathematically exact conclusions can seldom be reached, at least the habit can be established of reasoning about these problems

and determining the principles which must govern their solution. They should be approached, too, in a hopeful frame of mind. Pessimists do not solve problems such as these.

Many of the topics which form the basis of these "Problems" will have been considered by the pupil before, in the work which he will have had along the line of Civics in the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades, but at that time he cannot have gone very deeply into them. The emphasis in those classes must be upon his individual relationship with the communities of which he is a member rather than upon the principles underlying the great questions of whose existence he may then learn. His later course in the "Problems of Democracy" will then not be mere repetition, but will lead to the possession of a wider outlook upon the problems which the pupils have studied and to the forming of sound principles which may be the basis of fair and intelligent opinion. Surely there cannot be in the making of good citizens any undertaking more important than this.

The author has tried to write with impartiality. He *knows* he has written "with malice toward none." If statements of supposed fact are inaccurate, he hopes to be corrected. If readers differ with occasional inferences or conclusions, he trusts he may be favored with the tolerance that bespeaks and is perhaps deserved by good will and honesty of intention. "They seldom make us think with whom we never disagree."

R. O. HUGHES

PITTSBURGH
May, 1922

SUGGESTIONS

THIS book will furnish sufficient text material for a full year's work. For classes which can have only a half year, selection can be made from the full list of problems, omitting those which may have been treated in some other course or may be relatively less important than the rest for a particular class or community. It will be well to avoid mere skimming over the surface of these matters. It is better that a pupil should know that such problems exist than not to know anything about them; but it is still better for him to have some specific understanding about as many as possible of the questions that are brought up in the course.

The order of topics is not of fundamental importance, and if a teacher prefers to follow some other order than that of the text no serious difficulty will be found. Some may prefer to begin with the problems of government. Others may feel that the interest of their classes will be most easily aroused by starting their work with the study of an industrial or economic question. Some may find it advisable to stir up the pupil's interest by taking a distinctly local problem as a starting point, such as, "The cost of living in our community," or "Our facilities for transportation," or "Moral problems in our town," and by proceeding from that to more general principles that underlie the fields of social and political science and economics.

There is no need to treat the course as a formal introduction to these three sciences. It will be that, even if it is not so announced, and an attempt at unnecessary formality in this study is likely to detract from its interest and profit. At the same time the author believes that many problems can best be approached from the general viewpoint, with the local or individual application following, rather than to pursue them all from the viewpoint of local or individual interest.

At the close of the discussion of each problem in this text appears a list of reference readings which bear directly upon that problem. As far as possible, use should be made of these readings, as well as of any other trustworthy sources of information that are available. The author has tried to select for reference such books as were written either with the high school pupil particularly in mind or in such a style or manner as to be within his interest and ready compre-

hension. Most college text-books do not suit the average high school pupil. Individual students whose ability is above the average can be made familiar with books of that character. But to assign them for the use of the whole class is unwise.

In Appendix B appears a complete list, with the names of the publishers, of all books referred to in the suggested reference readings. Those most commonly mentioned can be secured by nearly every class. Sometimes two or three copies of each of such books may constitute a practical reference library which for many classes will serve all necessary purposes.

The World Almanac or some similar book of facts is both cheap and indispensable. Full use should be made of government reports and bulletins, state reference hand books, and illustrative or advertising literature issued by private firms or individuals. Current magazines such as The Literary Digest, The Independent, Current History, and The Outlook, should be constantly employed for up-to-date information. The Survey is loaded with thought-provoking articles. Those who have followed the lesson outlines prepared by Dr. Joseph K. Hart, which appeared in that magazine a year or two ago, will recognize the source of some of the questions used in this text.

With each problem is also suggested a list of special topics which may form a basis for project study on the part of individual pupils or even of the class as a whole if there is time. Interspersed in the text are numerous questions which may arouse class discussion or may themselves serve as a starting point for individual or class project work. Let the class programs be varied. Sometimes a three-minute talk by a pupil may open a class discussion. Sometimes a formal debate provokes interest and gives practice in speaking before an audience. At least once a term each pupil should prepare a report or thesis that will require some intensive study and full reference reading. It is not a bad idea to let members of the class conduct class programs occasionally. The more actual experience they get in *doing* things under proper guidance, the more valuable will be the returns to them and the more useful will be the course in training for citizenship.

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**PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN
DEMOCRACY**

PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

FOUNDATIONS

"O beautiful for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties
Above the fruited plain!
O beautiful for pilgrim feet,
Whose stern, impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat
Across the wilderness!
America! America!
God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control,
Thy liberty in law!"

— KATHARINE LEE BATES.

The only nations that have no problems are dead ones. To speak of the Problems of American Democracy is to suggest that our country is alive and trying to accomplish something. In proposing a problem in mathematics, certain facts and conditions are "given," upon which the problem is based. What, then, are the characteristics and materials with which and upon which we must work in solving the problems of our mighty nation?

1. What Is Our Country? — "My country, 'tis of thee," we sing, sometimes mechanically, sometimes enthusiastically. But what are we singing about? It is hard to analyze an emotion, but surely we can discover some of the elements that make up an object for whose sake we may sing, serve, sacrifice, and strive.

Perhaps we think of the *land* in which we live. Geography has a tremendous effect upon history and progress. Switzerland's mountains have helped to make her free. England's island situation has forced her people upon the sea and aided her to become the greatest colonizing power the world has ever known. A warm sun makes men lazy. Frigid climates tax their energies unduly. In the temperate zones have been found the peoples who have made world history. The United States has been blessed by nature with a bountiful territory which may well call forth our admiration.

Prove that man now is not as much a creature of environment as his primitive ancestor. Why do the "rocks and rills, woods and templed hills" of a man's fatherland inspire him with patriotism? Has Australia lost anything by reason of her isolated location? What do you understand by the economic interpretation of history? Point out the natural features which directed the development of the great nations of ancient and modern times. Considering physical reasons alone, would you expect Holland to be a great nation? Japan? Spain?

But we must have *people*, or else there is no civilization. Their habits and customs, their likes and dislikes, their enterprise or ignorance, determine the country's prosperity. A large group of people of common interests, and perhaps of common origin, who occupy a certain defined area, we often call a *nation*.

Do the American people, in this sense, constitute a nation? the Irish? the Canadians? the Jews? Why would it sound foolish to sing "My nation, 'tis of thee"?

An unorganized mass of people is only a mob. To direct their conduct and make it effective, they must have a *government*. The laws and the men who make and enforce them may make or break a nation's destiny. An independent group of people acting in a political capacity we sometimes call a *state*.

Prove from school life the necessity of government.

The laws and policies of our country or any other are not the result of chance. They represent our attempts to carry out the principles in which we believe. Without *ideals* no country can rise. Who could take pride in a country which was content merely to exist? America's ideals inspire us to sing of "the land of the free and the home of the brave," and they have been a beacon light to guide the oppressed in every land in struggling toward a better day.

These four elements, at least, compose "our country."



Courtesy U. S. Department of Agriculture.

COTTON ALMOST READY TO PICK.

What particular conditions of climate are necessary to make possible a scene like this? The United States is perhaps the most favored part of the world for producing this commodity.

2. What Nature Has Done for America. — Almost all the physical advantages a nation can possess have been granted to this land of ours in great abundance. The main body of our territory lies entirely within the temperate zone. Its 3,000,000 square miles form one of the largest

areas in the world of a reasonably homogeneous character. However, lest we boast too much about our size, let us add that our territory is about equal to Canada, not much larger than Brazil, and far smaller than the British Empire.

The varied vastness of this great expanse includes almost every known condition of temperature, rainfall, and altitude, and assures us a variety and abundance of crops. It would be an extraordinary calamity that would bring disaster to all parts of our land at once. Considering the 700,000 square miles of our outlying possessions — Alaska, the Philippines, and the rest — we could find very few crops that cannot be grown under the American flag. And even where foodstuffs are hard to grow, there is often pasture for great herds of cattle.

Our forest resources, though too long ruthlessly wasted, are still abundant. Tin is about the only important metal or mineral that is not found here in considerable quantities. In producing coal, iron, and copper we rank first; in gold and silver, second. Besides, we have much petroleum and gas.

The streams in southern New England very early furnished power to run mills. Today our water power, converted into steam or electricity, has helped to make many sections of the country famous for manufactures. Throughout our territory there are about 25,000 miles of navigable rivers. The Atlantic coast, nearest to our European customers, is finely supplied with harbors. The fewer harbors of the Pacific coast will in years to come doubtless develop their trade with Asia to an extent which will place them among the great ports of the world.

Thus we have been able to secure the raw material for our factories, mine our fuel, iron, and building material, and grow most of our own food within our own boundaries. With such advantages any people reasonably industrious should become mighty and prosperous.

If the early colonists had landed on the Pacific coast instead of the Atlantic, would our country have reached the same state of development that it has? Chicago is the center of the meat-packing industry. Can you account for this? Give other examples of communities whose natural situation aided them to become famous industrially. Study carefully the physical map of the United States so that you can locate the source of any of the products of nature which are obtained here. Make a map of the country showing the sections devoted to the various industries which furnish our most notable products. In a community of such varied interests as ours, what dangers may we need to guard against?

3. The People of the United States. — In some respects the United States of today resemble the United States of yesterday even less than the man resembles the boy. No other country in recorded history has expanded in population with such rapidity, though every civilized nation except France has shown, in the last century, remarkable increase. In total numbers, however, we are still far below the British Empire and China and probably Russia.

Our Constitution requires the taking of a census every ten years. Originally this was done to find the population of the states in order to determine how many representatives in Congress each should have. Now, however, the Census Bureau is a permanent organization, and in taking a census endeavors to learn the nationality, age, sex, literacy, and other facts about our people, as well as to count them. Some states take a census every fifth year after the national census, but sometimes these state censuses are not very thorough.

The first count in 1790 showed in the country a few less than 4,000,000 people. In 1850, the population had grown to 23,000,000. In 1920, there were in the main body of the United States nearly 106,000,000 people, with about 12,000,000 more in our outlying possessions.

Such phenomenal growth is due, in part, to the opportunities we have offered to foreigners. They have come

here in such numbers that our gains in population have been far beyond the natural increase of births over deaths. In fact, one-third of our population is of foreign parentage. Every race in Europe has contributed extensively to make the American people of today what they are. Besides, nearly one-tenth of our people — about 10,000,000 — are negroes, about 300,000 are Indians, and about 200,000 are Chinese and Japanese. As we shall observe later, some of our most difficult problems are concerned with the mingling of races and colors within our borders.

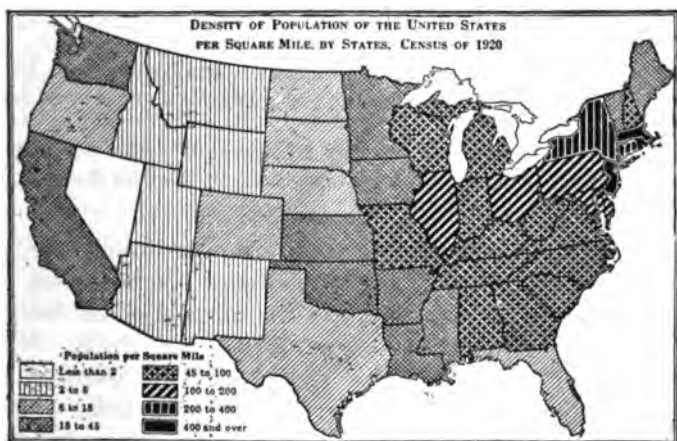
There are over 2,000,000 more men than women in the United States. This is due, no doubt, to the fact that our country is comparatively new, and that the man is always foremost as a pioneer. We observe this fact particularly in the western states where the men greatly outnumber the women, whereas in a few eastern states the reverse is true. A country losing in population through emigration always tends to have a predominance of women over men, while on the other hand one gaining by immigration possesses more men than women.

Would you expect the census of 1870 to show any difference over that of 1860 in the ratio of men to women? How does the percentage of men and women compare in your community? Can you explain this?

4. The People and the Land. — How the people are distributed is often more important than how many there are. Our population never has been evenly distributed over the country, and the westward movement of the people into unoccupied territory has been one of the tremendous influences upon our history. Rhode Island is the most thickly populated state, with 566.4 people to the square mile, while Nevada has more than a square mile of land for everybody in it. You could people ten Nevadas out of the city of Cleveland and have several thousands left over. Two-fifths of the people are centered in that section of the country which is east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio

and Potomac rivers. New York State alone contains about one-tenth of the people of the country. In this northeastern section or on its edge we find most of the manufacturing centers and all of the nine largest cities.

After each census the Census Bureau endeavors to locate the center of population. If we imagine the country as a great plane, poised at some point, the "center of population" will be a sort of numerical center of gravity. This point has moved westward from the eastern shore of Maryland,



Courtesy Literary Digest.

WHERE THE PEOPLE LIVE.

where it was first located in 1790, until the 1920 report placed it in the southeastern part of Owen County, Indiana. The fact that it has followed the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude rather closely indicates that people who live in the north usually go west or northwest when they migrate, while people from the south go to the southwest.

One other interesting fact is the steadily increasing tendency for people to live in urban rather than rural communities. The Census Bureau considers a community of 2500 people or over an *urban* community, and the smaller ones

rural. In 1790, only 3.4 per cent of the people lived in urban communities. No town then had as many people as McKeesport, Pennsylvania, or Sioux City, Iowa, has today. In 1920, over 51 per cent of the people lived in urban communities. This does not mean that there are fewer farmers today than there were one hundred years ago, but that the proportion of the people who live on farms is steadily decreasing. For this change we must put most of the responsibility on the growth of manufacturing. Immigrants also dwell more in cities and in sections that are already crowded.

If you judge a place by importance rather than by numbers, with a town of what size today would you compare a place that had 25,000 people in 1790?

What is the population of your community? How much has it grown since 1900? What reasons can you give for its growth or failure to grow?

5. Our Government. — The people who came here to settle were to a great extent the most liberty-loving of all Europe, for they had braved the dangers of the sea to obtain freedom in religion, government, and ideals. It is only natural, then, that they should carefully guard it in their form of government. They brought with them to the New World not only English customs and language, but the most advanced English ideas of liberty.

Since for so many years the English colonies were politically separate, they could not readily give up their political individuality when the stress of the Revolution forced them to act together. The Articles of Confederation, our first attempt at a national constitution, were a weak excuse for a real bond of union. Each state insisted on retaining its sovereignty, and the right in most matters to do as it pleased.

The distresses and the discontent of that "critical period" finally impressed the great minds of the day to such an extent that they succeeded in bringing about the adoption of our present Constitution. Framed by the famous Phila-

delphia Convention of 1787, it went into effect in 1789, and still stands, with only nineteen amendments, as the foundation of our government.

Can you name a few of the precedents which have come down to us through English customs? If you had been living in 1790, do you think you would have felt differently about the idea of a strong union than you do now?

Under the Constitution the government of the United States is a *federal* government, or *federation*, in which a number of political units combine and give extensive powers to a central governmental organization. If the union were so constituted that the units forming it retained the supreme power in their own hands instead of bestowing it upon the central government, we should then have a *confederation*. This, in fact, is what the Articles of Confederation provided. Our federal system is unlike the centralized government of many countries, such as France, Sweden, and Italy, since in these countries subdivisions exist only for purposes of administration and do not have political authority of their own. We hardly need to tell a class in an American school that our government is a federal *republic*, in which the administration of affairs is intrusted to officers chosen by the people. The dislike which the American colonists felt for King George III was so extreme that they would not consider for a moment any kind of king, good or bad.

Our Constitution provides for a government consisting of three departments to act as checks on each other. The *legislative* branch, or *Congress*, makes the laws; the *executive* branch, headed by the *President*, carries out the laws; the *judicial* branch, the *courts*, interprets the laws and applies them to individual cases. In every state government we find this same sort of division into three departments. The law-making body is the *legislature*, or *general assembly*. The *governor* and a variety of other officers serve as executives, and there is also a system of state *courts*. The states are

subdivided into counties, and these, in turn, into cities, boroughs or villages, and townships or towns. In these local governments we often find a division of authority similar to that in the state and national governments.

6. Setting Forth Our Convictions.—After these few words about the physical elements and the government of our nation, we may now say a little about our ideals—"the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts." Our convictions of the aim and purpose of our democracy have been set forth time and again by orators and statesmen. They have become a part of the very air we breathe. Even the motto on our coins is suggestive—"In God We Trust." Liberty, civil and religious; equality of rights and opportunity, regardless of race, color, or creed; unity, that "E Pluribus Unum" may not be an idle boast—these at least we cherish deeply.

The Declaration of Independence was the first document to set forth in definite form the theories of American democracy:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In the preamble of the Constitution are summarized our aspirations for a workable government and the ends we seek to attain through its establishment:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Men such as Webster and Lincoln and Wilson have presented these ideals in phrases that will never die; the careers

of our noblest statesmen have exemplified them; our forefathers — yes, our brothers too — have sacrificed and died for them. Surely they are worth our sincerest service and loyalty.¹

7. **American Ideals.** — Of all the ideals we have preached, we have talked more, perhaps, about *liberty* than about any of the rest. "Give me liberty, or give me death," cried Patrick Henry. Washington said that "Love of liberty needs no recommendations, because it is in the hearts of all." Lincoln spoke of this nation as "conceived in liberty."

But what is this liberty for which men have been willing to sacrifice and die? We may call it the right to do as one's desires and conscience tell him, without arbitrary control from any source, so long as he does not interfere with the equal rights of another. We must carefully distinguish it from license. Doing as we please without restraint may make another's liberty impossible.

There are several kinds of liberty. The most simple kind is personal liberty, that is, freedom as contrasted with slavery — freedom of thought, word, and action. National liberty is independence — freedom from oppression or tyrannical control. Civil liberty is the right to be free from interference by the government with one's private conduct, as long as that conduct does not menace other people. Polit-

¹ Wm. Tyler Page summarized these ideals and utterances in his "American's Creed," which has a place in the schoolroom of today, though a stickler for technical accuracy may not always be satisfied with certain of its expressions:

"I believe in the United States of America as a government by the people, of the people, and for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable, established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies."

ical liberty is the right to have a share and interest in one's government. Religious liberty is the right to worship God as one pleases.

Illustrate by events in our history the struggle for the various forms of liberty. Is it true that "if man could live separate from all his kind, his freedom would be perfect"?

Another ideal of which we boast is *equality*. In some respects all men are not "created equal." A person's heritage of ability, intelligence, health, and wealth is never quite the same as his neighbor's. In our personal characteristics, we are distinctly not equal, and nothing can make us so. What, then, do we mean by this "equality"? Just this — that before the law, as before God, all men stand on the same plane; and that every man deserves a square deal — an equal opportunity with every other man to make the most of the talents which he possesses. "America is another name for Opportunity," said Emerson.



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MARSHAL FOCH AND THE LIBERTY BELL.

The Liberty Bell in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, is a symbol of one of America's highest ideals. The great Marshal of the Allies seems to feel for it the same reverence that good Americans do.

What kind of existence would it be if every one's talents, tastes, and ability were the same as every other's? Would you like to live in such a community?

"The pursuit of Happiness," according to the Declaration of Independence, is another one of our "unalienable Rights." Is there anything significant in the use of the

phrase, "the pursuit of Happiness," rather than "happiness" itself? And what is happiness? Every man has his desire for happiness—but not all ideals of happiness are the same. To one person it may spell power; to another, social position; to a third, wealth; to still others, health, work, or leisure. That each may be able to strive in any right way for his kind of happiness is not an unreasonable ideal.

Can a criminal be really happy? An old lady declared that in Heaven she was "going to do nothing forever and forever." What is your opinion of her ideal of happiness? Would it suit you? When are you happiest? How does it affect you if others are not happy? Is there any difference between contentment and happiness? May a discontented person be happy? Is discontent desirable from any viewpoint?

We have heard much, too, about *democracy*. The Englishman Gladstone was not sure whether it was a good or an evil, but he was convinced that all the nations were headed in that direction. Now what is this condition to which the world is coming? Perhaps it would be correct to say that democracy is self-government. Or, it is, as Lincoln put it, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Right here occurs to us another famous phrase from the immortal Declaration — that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." This means that the powers which government exercises are given to it by the people over whom it exercises authority. Of course it is not likely that every person in a country will agree as to its government, but the wishes of the greater body of citizens are carried out. To find out what the majority of the people want, and then to do it, is the theory of democracy.

Does democracy depend upon the spirit of the people or the form of their government? To what extent does each of these ideals depend upon the other?

8. Attaining Our Ideals. — It is fine to have ideals, and still finer to strive to reach them, for they will not come to

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reality merely through being born in our minds. We can obtain them only by establishing those conditions which make it possible for them to live. People have always sought to attain their ideals through coöperation with others who were seeking the same ideals. The ideal might be crude and elemental, perhaps no more than self-preservation; but, whatever it was, instinct urged them to live with and work among other people in attaining it, and necessity forced them to do so. Coöperation today means even more than it did to our primitive ancestors. Our community life is very complex. One individual or family could not provide for even its own needs and desires in any important respect. This is an age of specialization: the smallest pin is a whole sermon on modern division of labor and coöperation. The very organization of our country is based on the theory of coöperation.

How many people helped provide the handkerchief that was given you for a Christmas present? the book you are now reading? Without coöperation would handkerchiefs and books be possible? Are there any disadvantages in coöperative living?

Coöperation, free, fair, and full, we must therefore conclude is an absolute necessity to the attainment of our ideals. It may mean working with others in earning our daily living; it may mean obeying the laws which the majority believe to be desirable; it may mean seeking the good of all, rather than living for ourselves alone. We must have it in as many forms as possible.

But how are we going to coöperate effectively unless we know the thing that is best to do? *Intelligence* is a requisite for liberty. The ignorant cannot appreciate its true meaning. An intelligent person sees the need of certain restrictions upon absolute liberty and is more apt to realize his duty as a citizen and his responsibility for his neighbor's liberty.

Intelligence is necessary, too, for equality. Broader sym-

pathy and understanding give the capacity of placing one's self in the other fellow's place — which is really the essence of the square deal. People can be happy without being intelligent. "Ignorance is bliss" — yes, sometimes, but not bliss as we would have it. The ignorant cannot appreciate and enjoy things that give fineness and quality to life. If we are to have an ideal democracy we must have universal intelligence. Ignorant people are unworthy of the responsibility of governing a great nation.

It has been said that the misinformed are especially anxious to lead the uninformed, and that the uninformed seem particularly willing to follow their leadership. Do you think this is true? If so, why? George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson were intelligent men. Did their intelligence come from the same kind of source? Is there anything which an ignorant person can do as well as an intelligent person? What problems in the life of your community plainly can be solved only by intelligent people? Show how intelligence or the lack of it has affected the history of our own and other nations.

But we need something more than knowing how to do things. We need that attitude toward life which leads people to do the things that are fair, honest, and elevating. In a word, we need *morality*. It may be the negative kind which consists of avoiding acts that are harmful, or the positive kind which impels us to do things that will directly benefit our fellow men. Morality affects liberty and equality in very much the same way that intelligence does; for, boiled down to its essence, liberty entails the common practice of the Golden Rule. And when it comes down to righteousness, honesty, and truth, every man can equal his brother. Happiness which is based on a broad or true understanding of noble aims, cannot possibly be attained unless morals are pure and fine. What shall it profit a man if he goes through life with a stunted code of morals — "to gain the whole world and lose his own soul"?

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Morality is therefore an essential to successful democracy. A good people can make a government good, but it is only by the rarest sort of accident that a bad people have a good government. Morality makes fine men, and only fine men can govern a great nation as we would have ours governed.

How can we as individuals promote the morality of our country? How can we combine with others in doing this? Is morality mainly a matter of environment?

Prosperity also helps wonderfully in attaining ideals. By prosperity we mean a state of general well-being and progress. The work of a prosperous nation runs smoothly; its atmosphere is peaceful. "Reds" and trouble-makers of all kinds have influence chiefly when people are not prosperous. Prosperous people are more likely to be law-abiding, making necessary reforms through the orderly processes offered by a stable, honest government. Material comfort has a tremendous amount to do with the attitude of all of us toward life. If we have a reasonable supply of it, we can enjoy much more freely "the blessings of liberty"; we shall have little reason to complain of not getting a square deal; without doubt most of us will be reasonably happy; and we will more cheerfully play our part in this great democracy.

To what extent would it affect the life of each of the following if he felt sure of a comfortable living: a farmer, a steel-worker, a teacher, a street-car motorman, a minister, a day-laborer, a grocer? Do you know of any instances when prosperity has ruined a man or a country? Is it easy to be good when one is well off?

Point out how each of these four conditions of progress helps to make the others possible.

9. Our Tasks. — Coöperation, intelligence, morality, and prosperity are so closely related that no definite line can be drawn to show where the influence of one on national progress stops or that of another begins. These forces for progress in their mutual relations are the essentials of a

democracy such as we would have our own become. Our ideal democracy is yet to be — and only further promotion of these forces will bring it about.

The instant we use the word "problem" in connection with our country, we suggest that there are some things that have not been done as they should be done. We have not made the full use of the talents that have been intrusted to us as a nation. We have perhaps as nearly attained liberty as any of our ideals. Yet our liberty is too often mistaken for license. Selfishness is the basic element underlying the motive of too many people. We need to exert ourselves to consider our neighbors' rights and to help them to respect ours, with earnest stress upon the fact that our ideal of liberty is to be a real, ever present force, making for the higher and happier living of *everybody*.

Our ideal of equality is a beautiful aspiration, but — ! The rich man looks down upon the poor man, who in turn is jealous of the former's means and influence. Bribery or political favoritism brings the wealthy man immunity or light punishment in court and makes the poor man bitter and unpatriotic. The black man and the white man are not on an equal footing. The foreigner from Europe is looked at askance if his diction is imperfect and excluded from "society." Probably social equality between races would do more harm than good, but we may at least have equality before the law, not only technically but in fact. And we have not reached the stage where every person has an equal opportunity to earn a decent living.

Our governments protect life and property only moderately well, for more crimes are committed here in proportion to population than in any other advanced nation, and there are more accidents and losses by fire. Are we going to admit that we cannot make our people as safe as other countries make theirs? Doubtless we can never expect to be happy all the time, but it surely is possible to make many of our people happy and prosperous to a much greater

degree than they are. And many seek the wrong kind of happiness. We have today an unprecedented amount of money here, but the social unrest is alarming, and we cannot boast of universal happiness and prosperity.

"And is thy soul in health?

A nobler people, hearts more wisely brave,
And thoughts that lift men up and make them free —
These are prosperity and vital wealth."

Perhaps we need not discuss here our failure to attain ideal democracy, for we speak of this later. Democracy has its disadvantages as well as its advantages, and we have not yet overcome all of the disadvantages. We have accomplished much, but there is still much to do. Our problems and those of other nations have much in common. We must work with them for humanity's good.

We have, then, these tremendous undertakings to attempt:

Making America intelligent;
Elevating the standards of American life;
Making America prosperous;
Making our democratic government efficient; and
Establishing right relations with other countries.

And all through these efforts must be developed more and more the spirit of coöperation. Individuals must coöperate. Social and business organizations must coöperate. Communities must coöperate. Nations must coöperate.

In our study we may not always be able to do much more than discover the fact that certain problems exist and learn some of the reasons why they exist. Their solution may be a matter even of generations to come. But let us study them with the faith that a solution is possible and that we can help to begin or to carry on the process. Let us not forget that our nation is still young, that it has as a guide the history of all civilization, that it can profit by thousands of years of world striving. If we have come so far

in so short a time, who can say what are the limits of our achievements? It is the privileged duty of every youthful citizen of the United States to "dedicate himself to the great task remaining before us."

Make a list of ten matters in which the United States is distinctly notable among the nations of the world. In how many cases is our eminence due to our natural resources and advantages, and in how many cases to the way in which our people have made use of our natural gifts? If other nations have failed to attain the same prominence in this respect, is the failure due to the lack of opportunity, or to personal weakness in their people?

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The Physical Divisions of the United States.

Industrial Sections of Our Country.

Our Mineral Resources.

The Progress of Equality in the United States.

Famous Spokesmen of American Ideals.

Coöperation in the Life of Our Community.

How Coöperation Makes the United States of America Possible.

Coöperation as a World Ideal.

World Empires That Have Fallen.

The Relation of Prosperity and Morality.

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MAKING AMERICA INTELLIGENT

"The foundation of the state is the education of its youth."

— DIONYSIUS.

Logically, the first problem of a nation is to make itself intelligent, since people cannot be expected to do what is best unless they can recognize the things that are right and wise. Education, it has been said, is both the cause and the result of democracy. This business of education is our own big "job" right now. But what is education? How much do we need it? By what agencies is it provided?

I. PROVIDING EDUCATION THROUGH PUBLIC SUPPORT

10. What Is Education? — Before we talk about education let us decide what the term means. Intelligence and education are not just the same. Intelligence is the ability to meet a situation. We may make an equation: intelligence = knowledge + common sense. Education is the cultivation of the qualities and talents which a person possesses. It implies both acquiring facts and learning how to apply them.

Is it proper to call a dog or a horse "intelligent" or "educated"?

Our idea of education as an enforcement of the powers of body and mind by training and discipline was first set forth by the Greeks, who were thoroughly impressed with its importance. During the Middle Ages, the Church was the seat of all learning. The clergy and monks were the teachers, and to the church or monastery all those who wished learning found their way. In fact, if a man could read and write, it was almost sure proof that he was a "clerk," or clergyman. But education in past ages was

reserved mainly for the aristocrats, the wealthy, and the religious leaders; the masses, a large proportion of whom were slaves in ancient times, and downtrodden serfs in the medieval period, were kept in ignorance. Now we maintain that education must be afforded to "all the children of all the people."

Yet it does not follow that every one should try to be educated along the same lines. Smith might be a misfit in college. Jones may need the special training required by a successful doctor, lawyer, teacher, minister, or engineer. A broad and solid foundation is essential to the success of every citizen. He is an educated man who can act intelligently in relation to the problems upon which every citizen may have to pass judgment, and to those which arise in doing that kind of work in life which the Creator called him to perform.

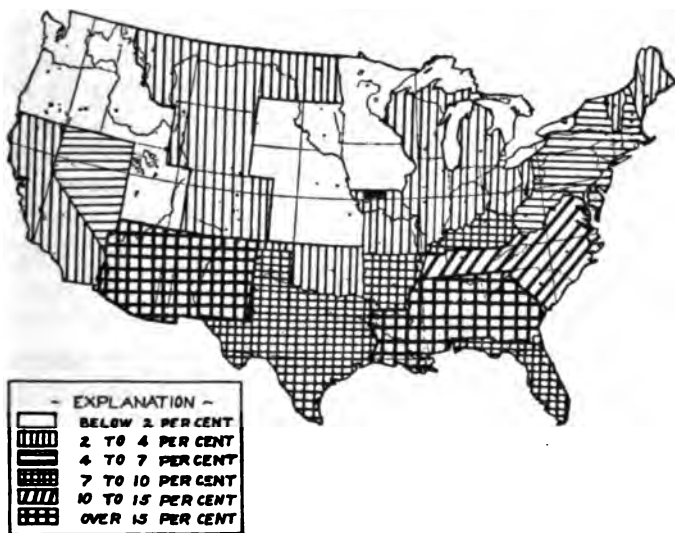
Are there any occupations in which a high school education is of no use? any in which it would be harmful? Does everybody need to know how to spell correctly? to perform ordinary operations in arithmetic? to understand such problems as we are studying in this course?

What reasons do you have for attending school? If you are attending school because some one else has commanded you to come, what good does that person or authority think will be served by requiring your attendance?

11. How Much Is It Needed?—One way to measure the need of education is in terms of *illiteracy*. The Census Bureau classes as illiterate those over ten years of age who cannot write any language, taking it for granted that those who can write can read. The figures of the 1920 census are startling. Six per cent (4,900,000) of our people over ten years old were illiterate! This proportion varied in different parts of our country and among the various classes of people, from 1.1 per cent in Iowa to 21.9 per cent in Louisiana. Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Washington had only .3 of 1 per cent illiterate among the native whites. The

bad record of some states is due either to a large negro population, as in Mississippi and South Carolina, where over 50 per cent of the people are black, or to an almost equally ignorant "poor white" element. Other sections owe their illiteracy to aliens. Arizona and New Mexico, as well as larger states in the East, suffer on this account.

Nearly one-fourth of the draftees in the Great War could not read a newspaper intelligently or write a respectable let-



ILLITERATES IN THE STATES.

In reckoning illiterates the Census Bureau does not count those under ten years of age. Compare this map with the maps on pages 129 and 141, and see if you can discover any explanation for the extent of illiteracy.

ter home. Over 2,000,000 voters are illiterate, many more than enough to swing any presidential election except that of 1920—and they cannot even read the ballots! By contrast, none to our credit, England has an illiteracy percentage of 1.8 and Germany of one-half of one per cent! True, our 1920 census showed an evident improvement almost everywhere, but our record is still distressing.

Is there any reason why your community should be better or worse than the average in this respect? Compare it with others you know of. How many people of your acquaintance are illiterate? Why, in each case? Does one have a *right* to be ignorant if he wishes? Who are worse, the ignorant or the prejudiced? Can the prejudiced be educated?

Another measure of our need is the effect of ignorance upon a nation. Under an absolute monarchy or an oligarchical government the citizens are less troublesome if they do not know too much. But in a democracy the dangerous ones are those who do not know or who only half know. They are the ones who can be led astray by false and foolish notions. One voter out of every twelve in the United States cannot read or write. Their votes count as much as yours and mine ever will. Our democracy is not safe — no democracy could be — while such conditions prevail. The most elemental of all motives — self-preservation — urges us to make them better.

Will an intelligent democracy make mistakes?

A third measure of our need of education is its benefit to us. The culture motive for learning is the oldest. It is the purpose which animates most of those people who love music, art, and literature for their own sakes. Next, by contrast, comes the commercial motive of education, often made to appear the most important. Every day spent in school may be a stepping stone to financial success. The average income of the college graduate is considerably greater than that of the high school graduate; and the high school graduate averages very much higher in earning power than those who never go to high school — and this without reference to the stenographers, bookkeepers, machinists, and others whom a course in high school has trained directly for earning a living. Besides, the social motive — that education should make one a useful citizen — is a reason for cultivating it, not only as an incidental result of the process but as an end in itself. This is one of the finest

things education can do. It then appears to be something more than an expensive toy or a source of bread and butter.

What types of pupils in school are likely to be influenced by each of these three motives? May more than one motive inspire a person? Do the cultural and the commercial motives contradict each other? How may each of these two motives contribute toward social ends?

This much is sure; we need education so much that we must see to it that everybody has a fair chance at it, even if we must force it on him. The dry things we call statistics show that Americans by the millions do not have anywhere nearly enough of it. The first great problem for us to study is, therefore, how education may be provided through public support.

To what extent do the following indicate community intelligence or the lack of it: bank clearings, savings accounts, insurance policies, retail sales, retail collections, church attendance, home ownership, house furnishings, recreation, crime?

12. Why We Need Public Schools. — If private schools were the only means of securing an education of any sort, we could wish in vain for an intelligent America. Thousands upon thousands of people must either be educated at public expense or remain in ignorance. Many families could not afford to educate their children properly, and others would not. Very likely churches and private charities would supply some of the needs of education, but not many of our religious denominations can support school systems of their own. Equality of educational opportunity could not be obtained or even approached without the public school.

Repeatedly we have emphasized the importance of education in democracy. Particularly in a nation like ours into which so many elements have come from lands where no one cared to have the masses educated, the state must for its own safety see that the opportunity is afforded for

instruction in American ideals. The public schools make possible the preaching of these ideals and the setting up of a unity of purpose among the inhabitants of our land that could be secured in no other way.

Moreover, in practicing democracy itself the public school renders incalculable service. It is a great leveler. Rich and poor meet here on an equal basis. Pupils lose in a large measure their intolerance of races and beliefs different from their own. The public schools are a living force for democracy. Race, color, or creed does not bar entrance or prevent progress. Perhaps some distinctions can never wholly be erased anywhere, but if class and caste are ever forgotten it is in the public schools.

If you had to attend a private school, how far along in your school course do you think you would go? Does money make any difference to a pupil in the public school? What kinds of people would probably provide for their children's education if there were no public schools?

13. The Legal Basis for Public Schools. — It is perhaps a sign of the general soundness of our American public sentiment that our great public school system is the outgrowth of the public's realization of their own needs and that it was not forced on them originally by any monarch or wise oligarchy. Wonderful document though our National Constitution is, not a word does it say about education, and no national system of public instruction can therefore be established without amending it. The work of education is left entirely to the individual states. The national government does, however, carry on education in the territories, possessions, and the District of Columbia, under the power given to it by the Constitution to govern these places, and no one can gainsay its right to give the states all the advice it wishes.

The Constitution does not even say that the states shall establish a system of public instruction. But the tenth

amendment declared that "all powers not delegated to the United States nor prohibited to the states are reserved to the states respectively or to the people." The authority for establishing schools is therefore one of the numerous powers "reserved to the states." It is everywhere recognized as distinctly a state function.

Almost every state constitution makes some provision for education, and some states have organized a thorough system on a state-wide basis. A great many of the states — all of them, at first — saw fit to pass the proposition still further along, and simply authorize their counties, cities, or townships, to establish schools. Now, however, the tendency is in the opposite direction, and all self-respecting states not only authorize but command the various local communities to set up schools of a certain standard.

14. National Systems for Education. — In most foreign countries education is more centralized than here and is one of the responsibilities of the national government. In France, Germany, and in England, a minister of Public Instruction or a Secretary of Education is a member of the national cabinet. France and Prussia have been the classic examples of thoroughly planned educational systems, with systematic courses from the kindergarten to the university.

The English educational system is like our own in not having shown until recently any signs of being a system. Until 1870 most of the schools were carried on by the Church of England, or by other private agencies. The great "public" schools such as Rugby and Eton were not public in our sense of the word, but much like such private academies as Phillips Andover or Exeter. Even after the law of 1870, the government continued to pay extensive sums to support the church schools, but "board" schools are now general. These are so called because they are operated at public expense by boards of education. Be it said to her great credit, England has done more than perhaps any

other nation in the last few years to make her schools better, in spite of the fearful expenses of the Great War.

Germany has contributed greatly to music, science, literature, and the like. Does this justify her public school policy? Which policy do you consider more desirable, the centralized system of national administration or the American policy of state control? In the respects in which our policy differs from that of other nations, would it be well to modify ours at all?

Although, as we have said, our national government has no authority over education except in the District of Co-



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THE NATIONAL MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT.

This academy was founded in 1801. It offers its students a thorough course in many subjects, as well as training them to become officers in the Regular Army. Most appointments to the academy are now made after competitive examinations held under the direction of congressmen, who have the right to select most of the appointees.

lumbia, the territories, and the possessions, it does a great deal to help the states, and freely exercises its privilege of advice. There is in the national Department of the Interior a Bureau of Education, with a Commissioner of Edu-

cation at its head. The Bureau collects and publishes statistics on matters relating to schools in every part of the country. These figures show the states and local communities just where they stand in the matter of education, and often stimulate movements for betterment. Bulletins of the Bureau also give advice on the organization of schools, the subjects which should be taught, and the best methods of teaching them.

The national government also helps the states financially. It began the policy very early, by setting apart public land to be used for the benefit of education. For many years it has aided in the support of agricultural colleges. In 1917 the Smith-Hughes bill was passed, appropriating a certain amount of money to be distributed among the states to promote vocational and industrial education, provided that each state appropriated an equal amount for the same purpose. A still more recent proposition is that Congress shall give to the states \$100,000,000 a year, to be used in several specified ways for educational improvement, provided the states shall spend an equivalent amount of money for these purposes. This bill also proposes a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education at its head, who shall be on equal footing with the other Cabinet Officers. It has, however, met with considerable opposition, especially from certain private schools.

Do you see any objections to the measure just mentioned (now often called the Sterling-Towner bill)? Would the establishment of the office of Secretary of Education be of any real service to the cause of education?

15. School Systems of the States. — There are almost as many types of school systems in this country as there are states, for each state has its own distinct educational history, and has patterned its school system after other states only as much or as little as it wished. Every state has some sort of state board of education and an official known as

a superintendent of education, a superintendent of public instruction, or a commissioner of education. In New York State the control of education is in the hands of a group of men known as the Regents of the University of the State of New York.

These state officials are chosen in various ways. In New York the regents are chosen by the state legislature. In some states certain state officers constitute ex officio a state board of education. Another idea is to have a state board made up wholly or partly of people who are already connected with education in some way. Still another type of state board of education is composed of intelligent citizens who take an interest in education, but are not necessarily school people.

Which type of state board would be likely to be of the greatest service?

Educational experts usually recommend that the state superintendent should be appointed by the state board or perhaps by the governor, but in only one-third of the states is this officer so selected. The rest of the states have their chief educational officials elected by popular vote like the rest of the state officers. The danger here is very plain that politics rather than merit may sometimes determine who shall hold these important positions.

In the various states the powers of the state board or chief administrative officer of education are very diverse. Often the state board is simply an advisory council, which may make recommendations but has little authority to put them into effect. It very likely may also have certain duties in distributing the state's appropriations for education and in gathering reports. By contrast, we have systems such as that of New York, in which state the Commissioner of Education and other officials who are appointed by the Regents have a very close oversight of the educational system of the entire state. They provide uniform exami-

nations for admission to many professions. In some states textbooks are adopted by state officials for the entire state. There is a general tendency, too, to bring the issuing of certificates to teachers under closer supervision by the state. Normal schools also are usually under state control.

What custom prevails in your state in regard to the selection of your state educational officers and to the powers which they possess? Do you think it would be well for other states to pattern their system after that of New York? What do you think of the idea of having the same textbook in all the schools of a state? Is there any advantage in having the states control the granting of teachers' certificates?

No matter how much authority a state government may desire to exercise, it is very evident that the actual management of schools must be in the hands of local officers. Three or four types of local administration have been in vogue in this country. The earliest idea was the *district* school. Each school building under this arrangement became the center of a district and each district had its own board of school trustees or directors. If the directors or people of a district were stingy, not enough money would be provided to maintain good schools, and sometimes the people of a certain neighborhood might not be wealthy enough to have as good schools as they would like. As a result, different communities in the county or even in the same township might not offer anything like uniform opportunities for their children. In states where high educational ideals prevailed, the district system after a time disappeared. Yet a number of our states still have it.

The next step in advance is to have the schools administered on the basis of the town or township rather than the local school district. The whole town then elects the school directors or trustees. Uniformity within the township is much more likely with this method than with the district system, but there may still be great differences between one township and its neighbor. To make the county the unit

of supervision brings about greater breadth of vision in administration and has some advantages in equalizing school opportunities in the different sections of the same county. In the Southern states the county is the natural basis of administration for the schools the same as it is for everything else. In Maryland, for example, the governor appoints a board of education in each county.

Usually the school directors or trustees are entirely responsible before the law for the management of the schools of their district. Formally at least, they elect the teachers, fix the amount of school taxes, provide for putting up and repairing school buildings, adopt textbooks, and within the limits permitted by the state laws determine the length of the school term. In some states the directors are permitted to decide whether the pupil should be furnished supplies and textbooks free, but in other states they are required to furnish them. The custom of furnishing textbooks and supplies is relatively recent and is by no means universal yet.

In districts which are thickly populated or in which several schools have been established the board usually elect a superintendent. In many good school systems they make him responsible for almost the entire administration of the schools, and follow his advice in electing teachers, adopting textbooks, and in most other matters. In some states where the town or township is the unit of school administration, two or three towns combine and elect a district superintendent. In New York and other states separate districts often unite for the purpose of maintaining a high school that will be able to do good work. In the states where the county system prevails there must be a county superintendent. Several states which have the township system of administration also find use for a county superintendent.

School administration in large cities may be a particularly troublesome problem. The crowding of people in certain dis-

tricts, the ignorance in one part of the city of the needs of other parts, the corruption which sometimes disgraces city governments, and the mixture of politics with school management, are some of the evils which often exist. In the hope of getting better people on school boards (usually called boards of education), in several cities the board is chosen by the mayor or county judges or in some other way rather than by popular vote. The best results are usually obtained when the administration of the schools is entirely distinct from any other branch of city administration.

Make a chart or diagram of the educational system of your state. Do you think it could be improved? Would there be any objection to appointing a school board and giving them unlimited power to levy taxes? What kinds of people are likely to make the best directors? Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of free textbooks. In a state which has county superintendents of schools, how would you have them chosen?

The most important feature in any school system is the teacher. Next to that of their parents, we may safely say the teacher exerts the greatest influence on most children's lives. Expensive buildings and abundant equipment are almost wasted unless the right persons direct their use. Teachers are elected by the board of education or school directors. In the best school systems teachers are nominated by the superintendent or similar officer, and election by the board is simply a necessary formality.

The qualifications demanded of teachers vary widely, but the standards for admission to the profession are in general higher than ever before. States usually provide for different grades of teachers' certificates. The teacher in the grade schools should have at the very least a normal school education. A college education should be no handicap for teaching any grade, and for a good high school teacher is a necessity. But it should be understood that high standards and good salaries for teachers go hand in hand. Most men and women who enter the teaching field

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do so for love of the work and too often have had to subsist on not much more than that. The best reward the good teacher has is the satisfaction of doing a noble task.



THE HAMILTON SCHOOL, EVERETT, MASS.

This is a grammar school building of a modern type. It was not built for show and no space goes to waste; but how light and pleasant it must be inside!

well, but it is a disgrace to any community if it does not recognize such a service in a decent and visible form.

Ask your parents or other older members of your family if they remember particularly any one teacher who had a special influence on their lives. If they do, what is the reason for remembering him or her? What qualities do you think are most desirable in a teacher? (If you discuss this question, it will be best to avoid mentioning teachers in your own school.) Are there any other people outside of your own family who have notably influenced your own life? Is there any other reason than a teacher's personality for the dislike which children sometimes exhibit for the teacher?

What requirements does your state demand when teachers' cer-

tificates are granted? Are there any regulations or customs in your city or state concerning the tenure of office of teachers? What would you think of a regulation that would provide life tenure for a teacher after he had served ten years in a community? Would it be well to elect a teacher for "good behavior," as federal judges are chosen?

16. School Terms and Attendance. — The lack of uniformity among the states in school matters appears in the length of the school terms and the ages for required attendance. These frequently vary even within the same state. Some small communities cannot, or think they cannot, afford to keep their schools open as long as the larger towns and cities. In most of the large cities and in many smaller communities which have good schools, the school term is ten months of twenty school days each. New York demands this of every district in the state. Smaller districts in most states keep the schools open only nine, eight, or seven months, and in the South, where the states have been lax in educational matters, some localities have maintained schools only three or five months in the entire year.

It has been proposed that the year be divided into four sections of three months each, the pupil being required to attend only nine months of the twelve. Would this be an advantage? If so, to whom? What conditions would be necessary to make it work successfully? Is it possible for schools with less than a ten months' term to do first-class work? Why do most private schools have a shorter term?

Keeping the schools open will not of itself assure an intelligent America. Some people always have to be forced to do even what is good for them. So in the majority of the states, the children are required to attend school for at least eight years. Some of the various age requirements are from six to fourteen, seven to fifteen, eight to sixteen, and even from six to eighteen in Utah and Idaho. A child may leave school before he has reached the proper age provided his family needs his earnings, but often he is required to attend a "continuation" school once or twice a week.

But attendance laws are very hard to enforce. How often must a pupil go to be considered in attendance? How can we find those who are not going, and check up the private schools? It is plain we need a careful school census and faithful truant officers.

Statistics show that 82 per cent of the children of the United States between the ages of 10 and 14 are attending school, the total enrollment in 1918 being 22,710,383. About 2,000,000 pupils are in the high schools. From every 1000 people 199 are attending elementary schools, 19 attending high schools and 4 attending college. About 85 per cent of the eighth grade graduates go on to high school, but only 39 per cent of these finish the course.

To our shame it was found that the average education of our soldiers in the Great War was no higher than the sixth grade. To encourage pupils to stay in school as long as possible by helping them to overcome financial difficulties and bad health as well as other temptations, is surely a primary duty of every community. For our own sake and the sake of those who do not see these things in the right light we cannot afford to let these advantages be gleaned only by those who do so willingly.

How do your state and community handle this matter? Are your attendance laws well enforced? What would you regard as sufficient reasons for leaving school before finishing high school? If a pupil is offered a "job" before finishing, what questions would you ask him to consider before taking it?

17. How the Schools Are Supported. — Few things worth having are free. Schools are no exception. The maintenance of them is often the biggest single item in the property holder's local tax bill. Indeed, this frequently ought to be the case. Nothing else that the community undertakes can compare with it in importance unless it be the protection of life and health.

Nearly \$1,000,000,000 are yearly spent on education in this country. The greatest part of this sum is obtained by local taxation, placed mainly on real estate. In

many respects this is the fairest way because people who pay for the schools are directly benefited by them. At the same time it is a matter of concern to the entire state that all of its people should be educated, and it is both just and wise for a state to assist its needy districts to keep up schools

"Art gives scope alike to the skill of the hands, the genius of the mind and the dream of the heart."

School's Share in Nation's Wealth	
OAKLAND SCHOOLS USE LESS THAN TWO-FIFTHS OF THE TAXES	
 This nation spends annually on our Public Elementary School Education.	\$ 762,259,154
 Each year the nation spends on face Lotions and "beautifying" Cosmetics.	750,000,000
 Normal Schools training teachers in the United States of America cost yearly.	20,414,689
 The bill paid with jolly alacrity for Chewing Gum in this broad land.....	50,000,000
 Higher Education totals yearly in the Institutions of Learning in America..	137,055,415
 Sundaes, sodas and Drinking Fountain Delights cost annually and gleefully..	350,000,000
 All Departments of Education in the Whole Nation cost annually less than.	1,000,000,000
 Joy Rides and Pleasure Resorts present a Yearly Bill totaling the goodly sum of	3,000,000,000
 In the year 1920 to 1921 in California Crime cost this sunny, golden State..	55,730,206
 In 1920 to 1921 School Education In California cost its citizens only....	47,455,957
 City and County Taxes Levied for All Purposes.....	5.12
 Oakland Schools use from City and County Taxes only.....	1.84

HOW ONE CITY APPEALED FOR PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ITS SCHOOLS.

The facts given in this appeal are worth careful consideration.

of a high standard. Many states appropriate large sums each year out of the state treasury.

In many of the Western states, and in some in the East, special funds have been set aside, the income from which is used for school support. Some of these are based on the in-

come from land which Congress gave to them many years ago. When the "township" in the Western states was laid out, it was understood, in accordance with Congressional enactments, that one "section," and later two "sections," were to be reserved for the support of schools. Some state constitutions command the legislature to appropriate certain sums yearly for schools. In addition funds obtained from dog licenses, automobile licenses, and even liquor licenses, together with fines and fees of various sorts, help out the school income in several states. Legislatures often do more than they are constitutionally required to, though we have had as yet no complaint of a legislature's being too generous.

One point on which the policies of communities differ is whether to levy the school tax as a part of the general community tax or to give the local school board power to levy a separate tax. Where the school tax is part of the general tax levy, it usually does not fare so well as by the other method. A city council may feel that there is more political advantage gained from spending money on highways, parks, or some other projects. People who consider themselves experts on good school administration almost invariably favor a separate tax, though sometimes they do not object to having a liberal maximum fixed beyond which the school board must not go.

The man who grumbles because he must pay taxes to maintain schools where he has no children attending is so stingy as to deserve pity. When we consider what the public school means to thousands of individuals and to the nation as a whole, we may consider helping to support it an act of common courtesy to which a citizen is as much committed as he is to support the police or fire departments or help care for the streets. In its lowest aspect, maintaining the schools is simply self-protection for a community, and miserly selfishness toward it should meet universal disapproval. At a high school commencement exercise the

speaker said, in part: "Ladies and gentlemen, for years you have been making a great investment in our public school system. Tonight, as superintendent of the local schools, I have the honor and privilege of declaring to you," pointing to the class, "your dividend."

Which should receive more of the state's appropriation, the small or the large community? What would you think of a tax on natural resources, such as coal, gas, and the like, as a means of getting money for school purposes? Is there any objection to using the income from liquor licenses to help support schools?

18. **Grades and Classes of Schools.**—Originally the people thought of establishing a school only for the purpose of teaching the absolutely necessary elements of learning. Now we have added the kindergarten as a kind of entrance to the elementary grades, and consider these eight elementary grades as a means of access to the "secondary" education of the high school. Out of the doors of the high school the great majority pass directly to their first positions in the world's workshop, but the smaller number of the "elect" wish to be able to proceed just as easily to the college and the university. Our attempts to make this movement from the kindergarten through to the university easy, gradual, and consistent are what we call "grading" the schools.

Graduation from the grade school was once considered a grand finishing point. There was such a great gap between the elementary and the high school that thousands never tried to cross it. To remedy this evil the junior high school has been organized, combining the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades into a separate group. The junior high school does not undertake to cover these grades in a shorter time, but aims to do away with needless reviews of the work of earlier grades, and to give the pupil a start in advanced subjects such as foreign languages, algebra, social studies, vocational instruction, and the like. The junior high school idea has come to stay and will undoubtedly make steady progress.

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Where the three grades mentioned constitute a school by themselves, the resulting arrangement is sometimes called the 6-3-3 plan. When the grades from seven to twelve are in one school, it is the 6-6 plan, as compared with the 8-4 plan, which has been so very common.

The American high school is tremendously important in the nation's life. Boys and girls of high school age are



A: CENTER OF LEARNING.

The High and Latin School, Cambridge, Massachusetts. This is one of our older high schools, but its location so close to the library, shown at the left of the picture, is admirable.

old enough to begin to understand the needs of themselves and of society, and young and ambitious enough to want to improve conditions. When we consider that to perhaps three-fourths of the high school pupils graduation day does not mean the "commencement" of further study, but of an active life career, we must conclude that the high school has a tremendous responsibility in directing their energy wisely.

Many believe that every state ought to maintain a state university. In most of the states of the West a pupil, if he so desires, may go from the high school to the university as naturally as from grade to high school. Only a high school diploma is required for entrance. No tuition is charged to residents of the state; those who come from other states pay a reasonable fee. The West possesses the most complete public school *systems* in the country; perhaps the East would be benefited by adopting some western methods.

The agricultural college is a special type of public educational institution and is found in the East as well as in the West. It is frequently a branch of the state college or university. These colleges are often called "land grant" colleges because the national government has given them land for use in their support.

Would free university education make it too easy for the "slacker" to procure an education? Would it raise or lower private school standards?

It was once a common charge that our schools were conducted like prisons through which the pupils marched in "lock-step," and if for any reason a pupil could not keep step he was thrown out without mercy. If that charge was ever true, it is no longer so in any good school system. To give proper education to pupils who are not in their normal or ordinary standing, special schools and classes in great variety have been established.

There are vacation schools, or "summer" schools, in which pupils may make up back work or take up advance studies. There are open-air schools for pupils who are inclined to be consumptive, and schools for crippled and defective children. Special classes in the regular school are often formed for the benefit of the "retarded" pupil, who for some reason is two years or more behind the grade which the majority of pupils of his age have reached. He can make more progress if he studies in a special class with a teacher who can see that he gets such particular instruction

as will do him the most good. Sometimes, also, "gifted" children — those with more than average mental talents — are put in separate classes, so that they can go through the regular course more rapidly than the general schedule would permit.

Another type of special school is the evening school. Subjects of an elementary nature, such as arithmetic and the teaching of English and citizenship to foreigners, are offered here, and sometimes high school courses as well. Besides these, there are industrial and special trade schools where thorough training for certain trades is afforded, such as those of carpenter, electrician, or mechanic. Frequently such schools are managed in direct coöperation with the industries of the community.

Only the large cities can afford all these special schools and classes, but a person who has the advantage of living there has no excuse for not being educated up to the full extent of his powers. The small school with a capable teacher, whether it be in the village or the rural neighborhood, may, however, offer just as much opportunity for individual training — indeed, much more than the city school whose classes average forty or more members. What the small school may lack in equipment and varied courses may be well made up by the personal relations and individual interest possible between teacher and pupil.

Are there any special schools in your community? If so, how are they maintained; to what purpose; how much good do they do? Is it wise to give a pupil the impression that he is unusually bright or unusually dull? Are pupils ever harmed by being forced ahead in their studies? At what age ought a pupil of ordinary intelligence to graduate from the high school?

19. What Shall We Teach? — One of the greatest questions that confronts the people who plan and direct a public school system is, What shall be included in the curriculum? So far as the public university is concerned, the question needs little discussion. The university is supposed to pre-

sent almost every subject that is demanded by the student. But in the elementary and high schools the question must be solved by those in authority, because such responsibility cannot be shifted upon the shoulders of boys and girls.

The primary object of the elementary or grade school must be to teach at least the three R's — readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic. History, geography, spelling, and composition must also find a place. Most people agree as to the necessity of teaching these subjects. What has been the compelling motive of introducing such "side-lines" as art, music, cooking, sewing, and manual training into the grade school? Merely an attempt to broaden the child's mind and to open the channels of possible interest which otherwise might have remained unknown. By the time they have reached the high school age, Johnnie and Mary may know what they like and dislike, but as a rule they do not know what will do them the most good. Educators have attempted to handle this proposition by *requiring* subjects which they from experience know to be most profitable, and permitting the pupil to *elect* according to his likes or dislikes from numerous other subjects.

Should a commercial student take only commercial subjects? Is there any cultural value in typewriting and shorthand? What is culture anyway? What particular values are offered by the various subjects usually available in the high school?

But how many things should be required of high school pupils? The high school has been called the people's college, and for the majority of them the completion of its course means the end of formal education. The ambitious or fortunate pupils who go on to college ought to be provided for, but surely it is not fair to the larger, less favored group not to fit them to do anything else.

Unfortunately, pupils often do not know what trade or profession they are going to take up, and will wander about taking a great variety of studies and generally following

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the line of least resistance, picking out the "soft" courses or taking the same things that their chums take. By all means a pupil ought, when he is selecting his subjects, to consider his probable vocation, ability, interest, and the need of an all-round development. Time is too valuable to be wasted! Make everything count!

Not all that the schools can teach is learned from textbooks. Many kinds of activities help to connect the school



LEARNING A TRADE.

These school boys take great pride in the work which they learn to do on the printing press.

with the life of the community and of the world, to interest boys and girls in movements of general uplift, to give some play to personal tastes and talents, and to promote responsibility. Capacity for organization, initiative in action, and general good fellowship are the result of rightly directed efforts in groups at school.

Even in the early grades many such projects can be undertaken. Thrift and savings clubs, Junior Red Cross work, school gardens, athletics, and Boy and Girl Scout organi-

sations promote good citizenship and make for all-round helpfulness. In the high school all those activities which the grade school undertakes, and many more, are found. Literary, debating, and dramatic societies, a school paper, glee clubs, orchestras, and "Friendship" clubs encourage social and moral improvement and contribute to the general interest. Class organizations, civic associations, and systems of student government are often great factors in teaching responsibility.

And so the school of today is no longer a little cloistered world where study and recitation are the only features. True, not all schools can have all these organizations and opportunities. Small schools in particular must avoid laying too much stress on such matters; for, after all, study and class-work are the things for which the school is really organized. It sometimes seems as if recitations were held merely to put in time between basket-ball games. But in large schools where the various activities are carried on by different groups of people, one person is not likely to be engaged in more than one or two of them, and the danger of overdoing it is less.

How many of these and other activities are carried on in your school? How much interest do the students take in them? Are athletics of any benefit to spectators? Honestly, which activities are of the greatest value to your school? Are any of them overdone?

20. Problems of School Management.—At least six elements enter into the success of a school system—its buildings and other equipment, its teachers, its courses of study, its general administration, its revenues, and the attitude toward it of pupils and parents. Whether it be New York, Chicago, or Hartland Four Corners, every community which has schools finds that these matters demand attention. Naturally, however, the big city and the rural district see them from very different angles.

The country school in the past and in large measure in the present has been too poorly equipped, too small to accomplish much, too badly directed and altogether too unimportant. Many people have a tender spot in their hearts for the "little red schoolhouse," but as a factor in modern education it is almost ridiculous. Frequently the country schoolhouse consists of one room, wherein perhaps forty pupils ranging from the first through the eighth grade are under the direction of one teacher. The teacher may be no more than a high school graduate — many have not that much preparation — and the attendance of the pupils is very irregular. They stay away on the slightest pretext and often because of distance or discouragement on the part of their parents.

Under such conditions it is a wonder if anything at all can be accomplished. Some people argue that our greatest men were educated in country schools in times when they were worse than they are now. These people forget that what the country school failed to do, such men did themselves. But unfortunately, our mountaineers and sturdy country youths are not all Abraham Lincolns. The city lad with his fine buildings, libraries, and recreational resources seems to have too many advantages educationally over his country cousin. Yet not everything is lovely in the city schools. Buildings may have been located and erected without sufficient foresight for the future needs of a rapidly growing community. Pupils then may have to go into undesirable neighborhoods to reach their school, classes may average forty or fifty pupils to a teacher, and thousands of pupils may be put on half-time schedules. The teacher's personal touch can have little effect under such conditions, and the best teacher in the world cannot give very effective instruction. Dirty politics and favoritism may come into city schools as well as rural districts. There are many more attractions to entice pupils away from school, and few parents come near the school unless the principal sends for them.

Since a rural community cannot afford many expensive buildings, one remedy is the consolidated school. This may be the complete or township type, displacing all small schools and having all the pupils of one township or even two townships come to it for instruction, or it may be the partial type, and embrace pupils from only part of a township. Whether this is located in a village or town or out



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THE LITTLE RED SCHOOLHOUSE.

This scene at Zoar, Mass., might be duplicated still in many rural communities. The facilities afforded for learning in such a place are better than nothing, but that is about all we can say for them. One of the country roads we read about also appears in the picture in what is probably its best condition.

in the country, there is always a considerable journey for many pupils to make daily. To do away with this inconvenience wagons or omnibuses take the pupils to and from school. Incidentally, this calls for good roads.

Capable teachers are a dire need of the rural districts. The larger salaries usually paid in cities and towns tend

to draw the ablest teachers there, even though the cost of living is greater. Increased salaries for rural teachers are an instant necessity. A recent investigation in one of our states showed the expense per child in city schools compared with the expense in rural schools to be in the proportion of \$33 to \$13. If the agricultural districts of a state are ignorant and backward, the whole state cannot help suffering. Yet because of the lower valuation of property in the country than in the city, it usually takes a much higher tax rate in the country to support even ordinary schools. The only remedy is for the state to give greater aid proportionately to country school districts than to the city districts, and to see that as good guidance and supervision are afforded country teachers as in the best city schools.

Most of the needs of both town and country go back to one thing—sufficient funds. Money will not buy the personal interest that a good teacher should take in his pupils, and it will not make the pupils anxious to learn. But money will buy books and supplies, build fine school buildings and offer some inducement for capable teachers to accept positions in rural schools. Money will enable the city district to have enough teachers so that classes may be kept down to twenty-five or thirty pupils instead of fifty or more, and will permit its pupils to enjoy playgrounds and athletic fields. Money will make it possible to carry on other activities besides the actual school work—activities that will promote the interest of both the pupils and the community in the school, and lead to such coöperation that the interests of all will be advanced. That every country child and every city child alike may have the best education that can be provided is the only ideal with which any state or community should be satisfied.

Do country schools need as long a term as city schools? Would a \$1500 salary for a teacher be more attractive in the city or the country? Where would first-class school buildings be most appreciated?

21. Making the School Most Useful. — We have invested in our public school buildings over \$2,000,000,000 and we spend almost half of that sum each year operating them. Do we get the proper return for the investment? A factory manager would complain loudly about business conditions if his plant could run only five days a week, six or seven hours a day, and at most nine or ten months a year. Yet that is all the average school building is used.

Superintendent William Wirt of Gary, Indiana, rendered a great service in showing our educators the possibilities of the "platoon" system of school organization. By properly arranging schools and courses of study so that the school playground, gardens, gymnasium, auditorium, shops, library, and the like are used by one set of pupils while another set are in the regular classrooms, almost twice as many pupils can be accommodated in one school plant as under the common method of administration. Of course this plan offers no way out unless a school is equipped with these desirable accessories, but perhaps it will help some school boards to discover the usefulness of what they might otherwise call mere fads.

Actually enforcing school attendance laws instead of simply pretending to do so, and keeping an accurate school census, will also help to make the school serve as many children as possible. The parents rather than the children are sometimes the ones who most need prodding up. Planning school courses so that they will afford the broadest training for life, and not just teach subjects for facts alone, important though these may be, will also be of great benefit. Sometimes there has been reason to complain that the school and actual life failed to link together in any proper degree.

But should the school buildings be for the use of the children alone? Congressman M. Clyde Kelly, who believes that such an idea is absurd, calls the schoolhouse the "Community Capitol." He says: "The schoolhouse is the one true answer to the demand for a meeting place, where

by association on a common level, the sense of equality may be realized, and where in the power and happiness of touching elbows, Americans may banish the thousand and one divisive lines of danger." Open the school buildings in the evenings, on Saturdays and Sundays, and during the vacations, for such purposes as lectures, entertainments, moving pictures, gymnasium work, and community "socials." Everywhere the schoolhouse could be made a community center for all kinds of activities for neighborhood betterment. Voting should be done there, coöperative enterprises of all kinds can have their headquarters there, the local post office can be stationed there — in fact, few of us have realized what the schoolhouse, the property of the whole community, can be made to mean to everybody in the community. Particularly in some rural districts such use of the school may mean the community's social salvation.

Could your own school building be made a "community capitol" ? Is it used in any of the ways here suggested?

22. Obstacles for the Schools to Overcome. — The effectiveness of the school depends upon the degree of success with which certain obstacles from within and without are overcome. The good of adequate buildings, textbooks, and equipment is evident. And the school must not ignore the health of its pupils. Fireproof structures with sufficient provisions for light and heat, proper ventilation, and comfortable desks are essential. School nurses and doctors and sensible physical examinations may mean much to the welfare of pupil and school.

One great obstacle within the school is the lack of co-operation between teacher and pupil. Student and instructor must realize that they are both human, and establish the relationship of friend and friend working together, rather than of task-giver and task-doer. Class distinction within the school is sometimes a serious obstacle. "Exclusive" fraternities and cliques are wholly out of place in a demo-

cratic public school. And the loafer may be found everywhere. Later, if pupils have little to show for their school attendance, the public which pays money to support the school thinks it is not getting value received and blames the whole school system. No one but you, the pupils of our schools, can remove obstacles such as these.

Is your school as democratic as it should be? What does your school do with its loafers?

Conditions outside the school may also hinder its progress in many ways. In the first place, people do not see its needs. They think that what was good enough for them twenty or thirty years ago is good enough for the boys and girls today, and they refuse to spend money for gymnasiums, swimming pools, libraries, laboratories, and auditoriums. They do not realize that ideals advance in education just as in other lines. As a result of this lack of understanding, the schools cannot obtain enough money through taxation to improve educational facilities.

Perhaps the most serious drawback to the public school from without is lack of interest on the part of the parents. Many parents completely misunderstand school conditions. Can you guess why? A parent-teacher association is often of great help in promoting school efficiency. In such an organization, the parents and teachers can come together and work out problems of mutual interest, the parents understanding the teachers' efforts and the teachers working with them for the children's best advantage.

Nowadays there are frequently too many attractions outside the school. Movies, theaters, and dancing have no place in the lives of boys and girls of school age to such an extent as to crowd out school work. Even things which are inherently of great value may be abused in this way. Sometimes there are other obstacles which seem unavoidable, such as crowded conditions at home, poverty, and the like. Children are often forced to leave school to go to

work, especially when financial conditions are bad. But even some of these handicaps can be overcome when school authorities, parents, and pupils fully understand each other.

Class Problems:

Home Study: How much does the average pupil in our school need; how much does he give; if conditions are not right, who is to blame, and how can they be corrected?

Parent-Teacher Associations: Does our community have one or more; what can they do to make our schools of greater service?

23. The Public Library. — The library is one of the most important factors for education other than formal schooling. Whether you hold a university degree or have not even a diploma from a primary school, the library will add to your education. No sizable city or town in the nation has a valid excuse for being without one.

Public libraries may be classified thus: those supported by local taxation, and belonging entirely to the community; those privately founded or owned, given over to the use of the public; those under the care of private corporations, doing public work by contract. Libraries owned by the city are frequently managed by a board of trustees whose powers vary with the community. Some cities and towns have libraries established by endowment with the understanding that the municipality contributes a certain sum yearly. This is a pet idea of Andrew Carnegie, who did much more than any other one man to bring library facilities within the reach of the poorest. Traveling libraries sent out from county or state headquarters are becoming more and more common in rural districts. Usually a large motor truck lined with shelves is used for this purpose. Definite routes are laid out and books are brought and called for at regular intervals.

The library is of great help to the schools. It prevents one-book education, and broadens courses and subjects which might otherwise be uninteresting. It also can serve as a community center. Many libraries contain audito-

riums and rooms where people can meet for various purposes. The library offers weekly story hours affording an opportunity for small children to become acquainted with the best literature, and renders all kinds of service in assembling books for the classroom, club, or individual study.



USING THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

In many public libraries a considerable number of books are kept on open shelves so that readers may go directly to them and make their own selections, from which they may desire to take notes or use in some other way. This privilege is a great convenience but it is not granted in some libraries for fear it would be abused by dishonest or careless people.

The modern theory of the library is to have a book for every reader, easy of access, and with liberal rules concerning its use.

The cultivation of good reading habits and a taste for good literature should be a part of every boy's and girl's education. Those volumes piled in stately rows along the library shelf were written for you and me — they represent what men have thought and lived for since history began. As an educational factor in American life the influence of the library is far-reaching and should be even greater.

Are the modern boy and girl in danger of becoming book-worms? What principles should govern our reading? Should we read for pleasure, information, literary appreciation, or to acquire a vocabulary or style?

What cities in the United States have the finest libraries? Is it right to name libraries in honor of men who have done much to establish them? Is it selfish on their part to wish this? Should the library accept and display every variety of books, papers, and magazines?

Greatest of all our libraries is the Library of Congress at Washington. Its list of titles is rising steadily toward 3,000,000. Its building is one of the most beautiful in the country. Every book, photograph, or other piece of printed matter which is copyrighted in this country may be found there, so that its facilities are most ample for providing access to almost everything that is published. Any one who can go there may make use of its resources, and to public officials and sometimes others the privilege is granted of taking books out.

24. Other Public Agencies for Education. — Education may come from many sources besides schoolrooms and books, and community taxes provide some of these. Think of the museums and art galleries which some fortunate cities possess, presented perhaps by the beneficence of some rich man, but now the common property of every resident. Think of the free lectures, organ recitals, concerts, and occasional historical pageants which public money pays for. And a few of our cities have a community theater, though this kind of thing is more common in Europe.

Parks may furnish instruction as well as enjoyment in letting people see many varieties of flowers, plants, and trees — and of animals also if the place boasts a zoo. If education means physical development, parks and playgrounds render service that is distinctly educational.

Few people realize how valuable educationally are the bulletins issued by the various departments at Washington

and similar agencies in states and smaller districts. Indeed, by far the greatest part of the facts which form the basis of study and information in subject after subject is gathered in the first place by some government agency and afterward organized or interpreted by some writer of textbooks, newspapers, magazines, or encyclopedias. We ought to make use far more than we do of our government's contributions to our enlightenment. Few of us have any idea how much we are really getting back for the money which we pay in taxes to support these public services.

∴ The American public schools, while far from perfect, are rendering a wonderful service. We should spare no pains to make this service constantly more efficient, and should be willing to support generously the schools and any other facilities that will help to make every American citizen intelligent.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Literacy and Illiteracy in Europe.

The Mountain Whites of the South.

School Attendance in Our Community.

Educational Requirements for Voting.

Education in Ancient Athens.

Roman Education.

Medieval Education.

Resolved, that a purely academic education does not fit a man for success in business.

Schools in Colonial Days.

"The Hoosier School Master."

Benjamin Franklin as an Educator.

The History of American High Schools.

The Smith-Hughes Bill.

The Organization of the Schools of Our State.

The Schools of Our Community.

The Support of Schools in Our Community and State.

School Terms and Attendance.

Continuation Schools.

The School System of England.

The School System of France.

The School System of Germany.

Educational Activities of the Federal Government.

The Qualifications for Teachers in Our State.

Junior High Schools.

An Ideal Program of Studies for Our Schools.

The Qualities Needed for a Good Teacher.

School Activities.

The School as a Community Center.

Systems of Grading and Promotion of Pupils.

The Proposal for Federal Aid to Schools.

The Ideal Country School.

Schools for Special Pupils.

The School and the Movies.

The Growth of Public Libraries in the United States.

Providing Textbooks in the Public Schools.

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II. PROMOTING EDUCATION THROUGH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Nine-tenths of us get the bulk of our formal education in the public schools. But what means are available for those who cannot or do not wish to go to public schools? What opportunities are offered us beyond the courses of the ordinary public high school? Does education need to cease when we leave school?

25. Kinds of Private Schools. — To classify exactly the numerous types of private institutions is not easy, but for convenience we may make three groups — those supported wholly by religious denominations, those privately endowed, wholly or in part, and those conducted as business enterprises.

The parochial or church schools stress the history and doctrine of their denominations, as well as giving general instruction. The privately endowed schools often arrange their courses along much the same lines as our public schools. Very many of these are boarding schools, and many are partly supported by gifts from religious denominations, as well as by tuition fees. Military academies and "finishing" schools may belong in either this group or the next. The private day school may also come under either head.

The schools conducted as business enterprises are exceedingly varied in character. The commercial school, or business "college," is one type of such schools. In these "colleges" students take up such commercial subjects as are offered generally in every high school. The chief reason for the popularity of these schools is the guaranteed shortness of the courses of study. Some one has dubbed this the "get-wise-quick" method.

A great deal of fun is poked at the "correspondence" school — "Learn to swim at home in three lessons," we say. Nevertheless the correspondence school has its place in education. People who have not the means to attend private schools or who are too far removed from public schools or cannot quit their regular employment derive a great deal of benefit from these "lessons at home." These schools teach a wide range of educational subjects.

The tutorial school, maintained for those who need special help or drill in certain subjects, particularly for college entrance, and the special schools of oratory, music, languages, trained nursing, and even some of a disciplinary nature fall into this third class. Schools for the blind, the deaf, and the defective in speech are also maintained as private institutions.

26. Are Private Schools Desirable? — Doubtless there will always be some place for private schools. We may always find some boys and girls who do not fit in with any large groups, but have talents which can be made useful by individual training. Others whose homes have been broken by parental absence, death, or other misfortunes, need the care that they can get only in a well-managed boarding school. Such a school sometimes supplies the needed discipline when a weak-willed parent has lost authority over his child. Some young men and women have the opportunity for secondary education come to them when they are too old to find it pleasant going to high school in company with younger boys and girls. Some parents want their children to receive the distinctively religious or denominational instruction which a public school cannot properly give. And others, to their discredit, think their children are too "nice" to associate with the general run of boys and girls.

This last remark suggests the chief charge that is made against private schools — that they are undemocratic. Not

many schools will consciously teach their pupils to be snobs, but the very fact that only those pupils attend who can afford to pay tuition charges, rents for special rooms, and the like, may give them in their own minds a sense of superiority over public school pupils which is not warranted either by their own brains or the quality of instruction they



ST. MARK'S SCHOOL, SOUTHBORO, MASS.

A well-known private school.

receive. But unless and until the public at large is willing to pay school taxes high enough to permit the public schools to furnish all the individual attention which the private school is supposed to offer, some parents who can afford to do so will prefer to put their children in private schools.

What special features are connected with boarding-school life? Is the average boy or girl better for losing his home life in order to enjoy these special features? If we do not, through attendance at the public school, learn to mingle with people of all social ranks, are we likely ever to understand them?

What do you think of the person who goes to a business "college" rather than take a four-year commercial course at a high school because he can "get through sooner"?

27. Higher Education. — Although most colleges and universities are simply advanced private schools, they serve such a distinct purpose that it is best to consider them separately. They have increased very greatly in number and importance; their influence is becoming more and more noticeable.

The chief difference between the college and the university is that the university is supposed to teach almost any subject, and to maintain special departments, such as schools of law, medicine, or general post-graduate work. The college may limit itself to the "liberal arts," and frequently is included as a unit of a university. Colleges or universities usually have a board of trustees with a president or chancellor as the executive head. "Deans" have charge of the various buildings or departments, and the "registrar" looks after the attendance and schedules.

A few cities have universities of their own, but the state, aided by the national government as we have seen, usually supports the public university. Private colleges rely wholly on tuition fees, gifts, and endowments.

Although only one per cent of our population goes to college, and only half that number graduate, this small portion contributes greatly to our welfare. From it have come one-half of our Presidents, Cabinet members, and Senators, and one-third of our Representatives. Besides these, a very high percentage of other public officers and prominent men are college and university graduates.

How many of the "great men" from your locality graduated from a college or university? How many from your class intend to go to college?

Class Problem:

WHO SHOULD GO TO COLLEGE?

Should everybody aim to attend college? If not, how and where would you draw the line? Who *must* go? Should the college accept all who apply? If it must or desires to limit attendance, what means of selection are best? Do written tests, such as College

Entrance Board Examinations, really test one's fitness to profit by college attendance? What do you think of "intelligence tests" as a part of entrance requirements? Should the college dictate to the high school a course for those it will accept or should it accept any subjects a high school graduate offers? Is it good for a person to work his way through college?

28. Private Gifts to Education. — Many of the great advantages offered in our colleges and universities would have



A SCENE IN A MUSEUM.

The Japanese Garden in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. One can learn much here about the ideals and thoughts of the Japanese people of former days.

been impossible without private generosity. A large number of our wealthy citizens have proved very willing to give others equal or better opportunities for advancement than they themselves enjoyed. College after college exists only by reason of gifts from men and women of means, and great universities, as well as local high schools and even elementary schools, owe their being to such munificence.

George F. Peabody, John F. Slater, Anna T. Jeanes, Mrs. Russell Sage, Henry C. Frick, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller may be mentioned as among the most famous of those givers, but many others less widely known are commemorated in the names of the institutions which they founded or helped to maintain.

The world owes Andrew Carnegie a debt of gratitude for the libraries he scattered so widely, and Pittsburgh in particular for its great museum and Carnegie Institute of Technology. Besides, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, whose specific purpose was to give pensions to college professors, has been indirectly the means of elevating the scholastic standards of many so-called "higher institutions." John D. Rockefeller is responsible for the University of Chicago, and for gifts to several other institutions of learning. In addition, he presented \$32,000,000 to the General Education Board, which has made many investigations and given much aid to the cause of education, particularly in the South. The Rockefeller Foundation, which has a charter from the state of New York, is another agency for the promotion of public intelligence and well-being, especially in matters affecting health.

We have not spoken of "generosity" in this connection. In one sense that is not the word to use, for the givers usually had plenty of money left and did not miss what they gave. But think of the thousands of homes that would know little or nothing of literature, art, music, or history if it had not been for these gifts. Whether rich men's names are carved in marble over the doors of libraries or museums is of very little importance in comparison with the good their means have accomplished.

The Smithsonian Institution at Washington is an example of a national institution which is the result of one man's gift. James Smithson, an Englishman, willed \$500,000 to this country which Congress decided to employ this way.

Has your community received any benefit from such gifts? Make a list of the colleges or other institutions which are named for some founder or contributor. If you had a million dollars or more to give for an educational cause, how would you make use of it?

29. The Press as an Educator. — Outside the schools the press has the biggest opportunity for educating the public. No teacher can possibly instruct so many pupils. But is it doing as much good as it might do?

A modern newspaper is a wonderful institution. The gigantic printing presses turn out thousands of copies daily. Hundreds of people are engaged in preparing its appearance. Come what may, fire or flood, the newspaper must be printed. Popular demand is so great that sometimes in its eagerness to satiate the public thirst for news, the paper manufactures it. Many agencies, such as the Associated Press, the International News Service, and the United Press have been established to gather and distribute news all over the world. They enable the papers of New York and San Francisco to publish the same news on the same day. There are over 56,000 newspapers published, 24,000 of which are in the United States.

It has been said that the four functions of the newspaper are: to gather news, to distribute news, to express opinion, and to create opinion. Another has stated that the function of the paper is threefold: to narrate events as they have happened, to advance arguments on what is happening, and to indicate what is going to happen. Thus the newspaper is narrator, debater, and weathercock. But the modern newspaper goes beyond these bounds, and contains so many different "features" that it is no longer a mere substitute for the town-crier but a source of interest and pleasure to all, from the youngest member of the family to the oldest.

Freedom of the press undoubtedly requires that the newspaper be free to criticize public matters and men. But often

this liberality is taken advantage of, especially in the case of party politics. Some papers maliciously attack opposing candidates in such an unscrupulous manner as to disregard all claim to decency and honor. Since some people believe anything they read in their own paper, when a paper perverts the news the results are far-reaching. Again, in some cases much they publish is a pure waste of time; they accustom people to cheap literature and they stir up unwarranted ill-feeling between men and nations. They may even indirectly suggest the commission of crime and vice.

Do you think all newspapers could be classified as either conservative, sensational, or yellow? What features characterize each of these classes or any others which you may discover? Give an example of each class. Should newspapers try to give the public what they think the public wants or what they think is best? Is the public responsible for the quality of the newspapers? How much of the newspaper is really educational?

Should everybody read at least two newspapers of different political views? How much of the newspaper do you read? What part do you read first? What is your observation of the reading habits of the public in general?

In the years just preceding the Civil War, the views of Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, were accepted almost as gospel by many thousands of northerners. Do any editors have a similar influence today? Why?

For those who prefer a clear, reliable statement of news to the uncertain jumble in the papers we have news magazines, weekly, monthly, and quarterly. And there are dozens of magazines which either do not pretend to be news magazines or limit themselves to a particular field, such as the farm journal and the scientific magazine for their particular patrons, the religious magazine, the fiction magazine, and that which plays up "human interest" articles.

The American people are world renowned as a "magazine people." In Europe the book is more popular than the periodical. Some of our best and most noted popular magazines are read all over the world, wherever Americans live.

Many of them have distinct literary merit; many discuss public questions with intelligence and vigor. These have a positive educational value. But oh, some of them — !

What magazine would you take if you could take only one? Why? Why may a magazine be more trustworthy than a newspaper?

Name twenty well-known periodicals, classifying them in accordance with their general purposes and characteristics.

What advice would you give a twelve-year-old child in regard to his reading? How much of it might you take for yourself? Should an individual try to accumulate a library of his own? If so, what books or types of books would you advise him to buy?

30. The Citizen Educating Himself. — So, then, the person who is not getting as much education as he would like, can blame no one but himself. Opportunities stare at us from all corners. We cannot help but "live and learn." The school, the library, the newspaper, and the magazine are only a few of the many educational forces which are found in American life.

In every city of any size, lectures, organ recitals, and concerts make their appeal to many. Industrial clubs, whose members are the employees of a certain factory or business institution, give further chance for betterment. In some cases they offer cultural education, but more often special training in a particular line of work in which the factory or business house is engaged. In this manner employees increase their own efficiency and prepare themselves for better positions. Such agencies as the Y.M.C.A. and the K. of C. do similar service.

Often a college or university sends out professors to various parts of a city or to other communities to give lectures to groups of people. A series of such lectures is called an extension course. The "Chautauqua" has become an important factor in many rural neighborhoods, and every year during the summer months presents its lectures, concerts, general discussions, and entertainments.

The museum is, and even the theater and the motion picture may be, an educational force. Social life also plays its part in intellectual development: mingling with intelligent people, conversing with associates, and studying human relations from many angles gives us something not



IN THE READING ROOM OF A GREAT PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Daily and weekly papers from all over the world are received here every day where they may be read by all who are interested. Travelers from far away are often pleased to find their home papers in the racks of such a library.

to be found in books. Traveling widens greatly this contact, bringing us into touch with people whom we can study, and learning about places and things which we cannot know through our ordinary relationships at home.

Education has been defined as a "realization of one's highest self." It is a lifelong job. It is much more than schooling. Formal education is primarily for young people, it is true, and some men and women have freer access than others to the various channels of learning. But the fact remains that ignorance is not its own excuse for being and that every

man and woman in the United States may cultivate in a large degree their God-given powers.

Can you think of other educational factors than those mentioned in this chapter? Has a person the moral right to neglect any reasonable opportunity for self-improvement?

∴ There are few cases of really excusable ignorance in the United States. If a person honestly yearns for learning and enlightenment, he has many opportunities to obtain it. If America is not made intelligent, it will be the fault of her citizens themselves.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Private Schools in Our Neighborhood.

The History of the Founding of the Great Colleges of our State.

The Activities of the Public Library.

The Newspapers of Our Community.

Magazines, Good and Bad.

The Business of Managing a Newspaper or Magazine.

Types and Standards of the American Press.

Individual Education at Home.

The Foreign Language Press in the United States.

Foreign Languages in the Schools.

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Rowe — Society, Chapter 37.

Dealey — Sociology, Chapters 8, 12, 13.

Lessons in Community and National Life, A-6.

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Hayes — Introduction to Sociology, pp. 652-668, 680-684.

ELEVATING AMERICAN STANDARDS

"It is worth while to be a citizen of a great country, but size alone is not enough to make a country great. A country must be great in its ideals; it must be great-hearted; it must be noble; it must despise and reject all smallness and meanness, it must be faithful to its word."—Roor.

The very reason why we would have education universal is to uplift American standards. But if our education is to be of real value to ourselves or our community, we must have, along with the knowledge and ability we acquire, the purpose to use them for the highest good. Knowledge alone may simply make wickedness more dangerous. Let us consider first the motives which cause people to act as they do and some of the undesirable conditions which exist in people's association with one another. Then we can more clearly state our social ideals and understand how to make effective the various agencies that seek to help people to do right.

III. FINDING THE FACTS ABOUT HUMAN ASSOCIATIONS

31. **Why Do We Do Things?**—The very fact that we never think why we do some things suggests one answer to our question. We have formed the *habit* of doing them. Perhaps in early childhood we were taught to say "please" and "thank you." If so, we have probably accustomed ourselves to politeness. We practice it ourselves and expect it from others. Going to school, taking a certain route to get there, and following a fixed routine of study and recitation, are features of our own life which could find parallels in the activities of a business man or a coal miner. Sometimes we inherit certain traits or mannerisms; sometimes we deliberately learn to do something in a certain way and keep on doing it. It is far easier to form a habit

than to break one. How important then, that we form habits of doing right! For some people "it goes against the grain" as much to perform an undesirable act as it would for others to refrain from doing it.

Our *social environment* explains many of our actions. Perhaps law commands us to do certain things that we would not otherwise do. Perhaps a community custom makes us feel out of place if we act differently from the rest. "What will people say?" is a question that may gain the power of a tyrant over us. Outside physical conditions of weather and geography affect the form of our clothing, our amusements, and the way we do our daily tasks. Family affection or authority restrains us from one line of conduct and forces us into another. "When in Rome, do as the Romans do," is a saying that explains much of our conduct, though it cannot always justify it. *We cannot escape association with others*, unless we are content to go back to barbarism. In a real sense, *no one is wholly self-made*.

Imitation, conscious or unconscious, is often the reason for what we do. If "they" are wearing furs on the Fourth of July, some of us will do so, no matter how uncomfortable we are. Fashion and foolishness too often go hand in hand. But deliberately to pattern our lives after the model of a great character may lead us to develop the noblest qualities of humanity.

Self-interest seems to be the controlling motive of many. What they like or what will profit them, they do — and little else. This may be the most disgusting kind of selfishness, yet not always. One may seek education or wealth in order to use it for humanity's good, and at the same time receive as much personal benefit as if he cared nothing for anybody else. Not only honesty but generosity and sacrifice may really be "the best *policy*." Ambition may lead us to do right instead of wrong.

One other impelling motive we have already suggested — *service* or usefulness. We need more of it, but we must not

think it is entirely missing. Men have sacrificed large incomes to accept public office or to follow professions whose chief reason for existence is the improvement of human living. The mother's whole life is often animated by this motive alone, and the call of duty always finds some one listening.

Do people often analyze their motives? Would it be well if more did so? How do you define *conscience*? Does it mean the same for everybody? Does altruism pay, in the long run? Should it make any difference to us whether it does or not? How far is the habit motive a result of the other types of motives? Give a specific example of each of the motives suggested, and of any others which you think should be added to the list.

32. Following the Crowd. — The conduct of human beings in a crowd offers one of the most interesting studies of human relationship. Perhaps we have noticed that in a crowd men do things they would otherwise scorn. To understand a little about this "crowd psychology" will help us to explain why certain things happen.

One of the most important elements in a crowd's conduct is suggestion. In a crowd, almost any proposition, no matter how foolish, spreads like wild-fire. There is a certain excitement in a crowd which craves action and only a suggestion is needed to set it in motion. This action is quick and leaves no time for argument or difference of opinion. It is a first impulse, the result of aroused imagination. A crowd may become a mob at a moment's notice, when men become irrational, bent on ruin. The "crowd" spirit is frequently short-lived, and may end as quickly as it began.

Another factor in mob psychology is imitation. A mob leader is intelligent enough at least to know how to handle the crowd. The ignorant man follows the leader and imitates him. This tendency, true at all times, is particularly evident in a crowd. The average person does not want others to think that he is afraid to do something which the others wish, and so he follows along, even against his better judgment. And usually he exercises no judgment. For

the time he has ceased to be an individual. He has become just a fraction of a crowd.

Further, a crowd is emotional. It can easily be stirred up to do almost anything, if the speaker can play on the feelings of the people. A crowd is irrational and credulous. It accepts anything it is told. Alone, in saner moments, a person would laugh at things which he believes



A TYPICAL CROWD.

Keystone View Co.

These steel strikers at Gary, Indiana, seem to be taking in everything the speaker says.

when told by the leader of a crowd. Lynchings occur when a crowd gets together, and the responsibility is shared. Few people would deliberately shoot a man even though they thought he deserved to be killed. It may be the feeling that one will not be punished that induces a person to join a "lynching party" or it may be the excitement and influence of the moment. "Race riots" are seldom if ever willfully planned, but take place when a man temporarily lays aside his individuality and becomes simply a white

man or a black man — a member of a crowd with a supposed grievance against another crowd.

This crowd psychology can be turned to good account as well as bad. The skillful politician takes advantage of it repeatedly. Roosevelt was a master at this game. Unfortunately men with good causes too often depend solely upon the merits of their cause and are beaten by a less worthy seeker after popular favor who knows how to catch the crowd.

The Liberty Bond campaigns of the Great War, religious revivals, meetings to stir up "school spirit," are instances of movements whose aim and results are wholly or chiefly good, in which the skillful employment of crowd psychology may be or has been the main factors for success. To do this well in a worthy cause is an accomplishment not to be despised; but to be strong enough not to be led astray in a crowd bent on mischief is equally the duty of a good citizen.

Does this crowd psychology play any part in the hazing and class rushes that occur in some colleges? Make a list of the instances you know in which people have done things in a crowd which they would not have done alone. Can you give illustrations of political campaigns when success resulted because one side knew crowd psychology better than the other?

33. Social Classes in the Old World and the New. — Underlying many of the struggles in world history, economic and political, is the conflict between one social class and another. A person born in a certain class has often had little chance of getting out of it, no matter how capable, lazy, good or bad he might be. Three social classes were once universal in Old World nations and are still evident in some countries.

(1) The *aristocracy*, comprising the families of the royalty and the nobility. Money is a consideration secondary to rank and ancestry, but aristocrats are usually not poor.

(2) The *bourgeoisie*, made up of merchants, tradesmen,

and other people of successful business enterprise. Most of the capitalists are of this class. A bourgeois citizen who achieves something of note may hope sometime to have a title conferred upon him.

(3) The *masses*, sometimes called the *proletariat*, composed of the thousands of mill and factory workers, miners, and peasants. Often they have had little opportunity for education or any sort of advancement.

But of-course we have no social classes in America! Let us see. Maybe they are not so clearly defined as those in the Old World. Perhaps they are based on the dollar mark rather than on a coat of arms. Does not wealth make a great deal of difference in the United States? A newly rich person may never be able to enter the best society but his children and their children will probably be accepted without difficulty. Ancestry and birth play a part, too. The family whose forefathers came over in the *Mayflower* has a certain prestige, in its own mind at least. And people of culture sometimes feel their own superiority. What corresponds most nearly to the bourgeois of other countries is our own middle class — the men engaged in all kinds of business or professions, who live comfortably but not in luxury. Our "masses" are the "laborers," skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled. Most of them live from day to day, but extreme poverty is not the rule among them.

But social classes neither in this country nor in Europe are so iron-cast as formerly. The saving grace now is that a person may rise from the laboring class to the middle class, or from the middle class to that status known as "high society." He may also fall. There is no especial disgrace here for people to marry "out of their class," and each class is not independent of the other.

Is there any excuse for social classes in a democracy? Undoubtedly some will say that social classes offer an incentive to people to work and to rise higher. But if the poor despise the rich, the middle classes envy the rich, and

the rich look down upon the poor and middle classes, there is going to be trouble. The fact that one of our historic documents says "All men are created equal" does not make them so. Inequality of people in the different "classes" and the feeling between them are the chief hindrances to our attainment of real democracy. People who harp on the desirability of developing "class consciousness" are a curse to any country.

Are wealthy people really happier than others? Is the correction of social inequality the duty of one "class" any more than another? Does "class consciousness" do any good?

Is your community "stratified" socially? If so, on what basis? How do any social distinctions manifest themselves in any instances within your notice? What is the influence of the public school on social distinctions? of political parties? of churches?

34. Social Problems of the City.—The large city has always been itself a problem. The city of the Middle Ages, from the viewpoint of safety, convenience, or health, was an impossible place to live in, we would say now. Most certainly we have improved since then, but some of us never look farther than wide streets and flowered boulevards in forming our opinions about a city.

Congestion is one of the disadvantages of city life. Our cities have usually grown up around harbors, factories, or other places of industry which attracted workers. They naturally settled within a short distance of the place where they worked. As more people came, these sections became more and more thickly populated. When houses are scarce, rents go up, and the crowding becomes worse than before. The result is general poor health, and the spread of vice and crime. The sad, wan faces of little children brought up under such conditions should be a warning to every city. The saying that "God made the country and man the town" contains more pathos than people who live in desirable conditions in the city seem to realize.

The problem of the foreigner is worse in the city than in the rural community. Foreigners seek the city because there they find the factory and the mill. In their struggle to make some kind of living they crowd into those self-same sections we have just discussed. They make "little Italies," "little Russias," and other distinctive settlements, so that these overcrowded sections of a city are plainly divided into centers of nationality, where the languages and customs are those of the "old country."

The people who live in the slum districts do not have an opportunity to play properly. Their more fortunate fellow-citizens play too much and too carelessly, while the tired factory or mill hand comes home too fatigued to take any interest in amusement. If he does desire some recreation, only the cheap movie and the common dance hall or the street corner are open to him. Playgrounds are too few and far between, and we know what it means when children have to play in the streets. Child labor and the sweat shop are evils which still exist despite all that has been done to abolish them.

Nor is home life in the finer parts of the city all that is ideal. The movie, the theater, and the dance hall take the young people, on whom home influence should be constantly working, out of the home too much of the time. Young people think they are "seeing life," but they do not realize how artificial and distorted is most of this "life."

Cities offer special opportunities for political corruption and misgovernment. They are hotbeds of discontent. Here is where revolutions are plotted and radicals always get a hearing. The extravagance of boastful wealth and the gloominess of hopeless poverty appear here in most glaring contrast. The typical city dweller knows little and cares less about either his own neighbors or those who live elsewhere, and judges everybody from his own limited viewpoint. Oh yes, we can find good in our great cities, but just now we are looking for the opposite — and finding it.

35. **Social Problems of the Country.** — By contrast the sparsely settled rural districts have problems of their own. Perhaps the greatest is isolation and the resultant lack of coöperation. The nature of the farmer's work does not permit constant association. He becomes accustomed to working by himself. The church and the school should be common centers, but unfortunately the country minister, as well as the country teacher, is too often underpaid — a serious drawback to competent leadership.

It has been said that one mile from a rural railroad station time goes back a hundred years. The old kerosene lamp still burns on the table, the homely evidences of years long passed may still be seen, and no attempt to better conditions is being made. Sanitation is unknown, and roads are a joke. This charge is often wholly untrue and unjust. Yet there is urgent need for modern improvements in many a farm neighborhood. The housewife especially deserves consideration. Life to her is one day of drudgery after another, and she perhaps uses the same old methods of domestic work that her great-grandmother did. The American farmer can never be a peasant; he has the full rights of citizenship. Yet we often see him working with crude arm implements or his wife toiling with few or no domestic facilities. The result of all this is, too frequently, on the part of the old folks, taciturn resignation to constant, wearisome, unnecessary monotony.

But the young folks break away. Their motive may be to procure a good education, to "see things," to follow a natural calling, or broaden their prospect of advancement. All these motives may be justifiable in themselves. Many country youths rightly belong to the city, while on the other hand many city-bred boys would flourish better and live more happily in the country. It is a sad state if the young blood all flows in one direction.

Many country communities are living in the twentieth century far more fully than much of "little old New York."

But others need to learn coöperation in work and pleasure, the benefits of efficient churches and schools and the comforts and conveniences which science and invention have made possible for both the farmer and his wife. We must see to it that the farmer can earn a decent living. It is distressing to note how many farms are mortgaged and how many farmers are simply renters. If the farmer goes down in ruin, the nation will go down with him.

36. Social Problems of the Small Town. — But sometimes it seems as if the small town faces the most difficult



MAIN STREET IN A SMALL TOWN.

Does this scene suggest that life in this particular community is very interesting?

problem. Its residents do not have the healthy interests that farmers do, nor does it possess enough of the wealth and progressiveness of the large town to give it city advantages. Here too the churches may be too many and too weak, and the schools just good enough to make one realize what they ought to be.

There is nothing for the people to do after the day's work is over but talk about their neighbors. Monotonous existence in a "one-hoss town" deadens all initiative. A "movie" once or twice a week, an occasional second-class

show, or a "sociable" once a month cannot satisfy youth's craving for variety. The same scenes and same few faces do not offer enough scope. The life of the small town is worse to tolerate than the quiet life of the farm because the "taste" of other things is there. The small town is just "betwixt and between."

The young fellows loaf on the corners or in the pool-room for lack of something better to do, and since they have nothing to do, are inclined to do wrong, merely for diversion. People who are brought up in such communities are apt to become narrow-minded and prejudiced, and to get hopelessly deep in their little rut. Such men and women are not of great value to a progressive nation and they themselves get little out of life. The small town too often stops, so far as good influence or contribution of any kind to the nation is concerned, with the end of its "Main Street." But they are not all like this. Some are delightful places not only for spending a summer vacation but to live in the year round. Can the rest be made so?

37. Community Ideals. — We have spoken of our national ideals and pointed out their importance. Should not the local community, which has as much to do with the everyday life of its people, have its own ideals too? Believing that it should, social service organizations, churches, and other agencies working for the public good have set forth their aspirations in programs for community effort. We may summarize some of their ideals as follows:

A community should strive:

1. To procure coöperation from all its members; in other words to display the "community spirit."
2. To utilize to their best advantage all natural resources, with sufficient thought for the future.
3. To make living conditions wholesome and attractive and give all an equal opportunity for a decent living and for advancement.
4. To provide sufficient recreation of the right kind to keep everybody healthy and happy.

5. To keep clean, physically and morally.
6. To make every citizen think for himself politically, to assure honest politics, and to encourage sound public opinion.
7. To know itself and its needs, to raise its ideals ever higher, and by education and patriotic appeal daily to approach nearer its ideals.

These are attainable ideals. Evil has its cause in conditions which we daily tolerate. The thing for every community to do, is to wake up, look around for such causes, eliminate them so far as possible, and keep them from taking root again. Then we may expect to tell a different story from that which truth has obliged us to tell about the conditions of human association in too many communities in our land.

Have you ever seen desirable things in other communities which your own community lacks? If so, what are they? Do you have or did you ever visit a "community house"? What is your opinion of the idea?

What progress has your community made in the last ten years toward the ideals we have mentioned? To whom does the blame or credit belong for the changes which have taken place? What have you done about it, or your church, or any other organization to which you belong?

"What kind of town would my town be,
If every person were just like me?"

∴ Evil conditions, as well as good, arise from the association of human beings. Each type of community has its own special problems. With an understanding of the conduct of people in "crowds," we must direct such action toward betterment rather than harm.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Social Problems of Our Town.

The Psychology of a Crowd.

Is "Main Street" a Fair Description of the American Small Town?

Social Classes in England.

Aristocracy in America.

An Experience with a Crowd.

The Origin of Superstitions.

The Castes of India.

The Community House.

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Carver — Principles of Rural Economics, Chapter 6.

IV. MAKING ENVIRONMENT FAVORABLE FOR RIGHT LIVING

We have just suggested the kind of community that ours and every other ought to be. In every place there are doubtless good and evil and the prospect of improvement. Environment is responsible for much in a community's life. Let us see how, by making environment attractive, we can encourage people to maintain high standards of thought and conduct and remove temptations to wrong-doing.

38. When Is Right Living Easy? — Perhaps we may be asked, Is it desirable that right living should be easy? We sometimes accuse our Puritan forefathers of believing that the more disagreeable were the circumstances surrounding the doing of an act, the more virtue there was in it. True, character is made by overcoming obstacles. But surely a community is bettered when wrong-doing is reduced, however the change is brought about. Surely a community is happier and better in which it is easy and popular to do right.

General enlightenment is certainly a help, for knowing what to do is a long step toward doing it. Health also does much to encourage right living. It is always easier to do wrong or to neglect some duty when we are "out of sorts." A state of common well-being removes the excuse for theft and dishonesty. If the community is well planned and beautiful, by instinct we are led to care for it better, to respect public and private property, and try to make it even more attractive. Playtime, whether we are young or old, encourages us to do our work better. We feel that the world is good to us if we have the chance for enjoyment and we

are more likely to try to be good to the world. Where conditions such as these prevail, "plain living and high thinking" are natural rather than difficult. Private citizens and public officials then seek each other's good as well as their own.

A. Protecting Health

39. Our Need of Good Health. — Good health means not only freedom from disease and from mental and physical defects, but the possession of energy and vitality beyond that necessary for mere existence. The man or woman who does not have good health is losing half the joy of living. It has been said that life consists of four things: working, playing, eating, and sleeping. None of these can be done rightly without health. When a person does not feel well, he cannot do his share of the world's work satisfactorily, cannot enjoy his play, and has a bad influence on those with whom he comes in contact. Initiative is dulled, ambition is lost. Many a man who has accumulated wealth has found out, too late, that money brings little happiness unless health goes along with it. Health is fundamental to the individual and hence to the community, the nation, and the progress of the world as a whole.

Can you justify the statements of this section from your own experience or knowledge? It is said that there was little sickness among the Eskimos until they came in contact with white people. If true, what inferences does this statement justify?

Now, are we a healthy nation? The keeping of vital statistics — records of births, deaths, and diseases — is not done as carefully as it should be. The so-called "registration area" in the United States, where records are kept with some approach to accuracy, does not include more than two-thirds of the states. Sweden has the best showing of all countries in the average length of life of its people — fifty-two and a fourth years. Somewhere around forty-five years would be nearer the fact in this country.

We have made some progress. There was a time when the plague was looked upon with resignation as a thing of fate — but now we know differently and realize that it is within our power to prevent it. Since the use of antitoxin in diphtheria, only five per cent of those having the disease die, whereas formerly from twenty to thirty per cent yielded to it. Cholera no longer troubles the United States. Vaccination has made smallpox exceedingly rare. The discovery of the germ and the germ carrier has done much to prevent disease. By warring on the mosquito, the United States has virtually abolished yellow fever, not only here but even in tropical regions such as Cuba and Panama. At the present time about a million people in the United States are tubercular, but even so large a number of tubercular people is small compared with what it was thirty years ago.

And yet there is much to learn, as appeared when the "flu" epidemic swept around the world during the last years of the Great War and afterwards, and doctors were almost helpless against it. In infant mortality the record of the United States is worse than that of most other countries. The worst health reports come from southern communities where a large negro and poor white population do not know how to take care of their health. The city of Seattle makes the best showing of any of our large cities. About 1 in 18 of the children born there die before they are a year old, as compared with 1 in 10 in Pittsburgh; and Seattle's death rate per year of all ages is about 8 per 1000, whereas 14 per 1000 would be considered good in most other places. No, as a nation we are not startlingly healthy.

Look up the records of your own community in this matter. Are they better or worse than formerly? Why? Does any particular disease need special attention in your locality?

40. Elements Necessary to Health. — It sometimes seems that good health is a gift bestowed by the gods upon



A GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR AT WORK.

There are over 475 government inspectors who report every day at the Chicago stockyards headquarters of the Bureau of Animal Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture. These carcasses have already passed three inspections. If this inspector is satisfied they are stamped "U. S. Government Inspected" and are sent to the coolers.

some people and denied to others — that some just naturally have good health and others do not. But there are certain factors in the health of the community which are vital. Every person needs pure air, but there are thousands of people who do not get it. If windows were made only to admit light they would not be made to open ; the notion that night air is unhealthful is foolish. Pure water is also necessary, for typhoid and other germs abound in impure water. Pure food, and of the right kind, is another essential. Meat, canned and preserved goods, and milk must be particularly guarded.

Proper living conditions also greatly affect health. Personal habits are of great importance. Recreation and rest are needed to keep our health when once we have it. We may add as another factor in health the prevention and control of disease, for in spite of every effort to prevent it disease does appear.

41. What the Government Does to Provide These Elements. — National, state, and local governments must all coöperate if public health is to be safeguarded most effectively, but the national government has little power to act, except when its activities relate to interstate or foreign commerce. The Bureau of Animal Industry in the national Department of Agriculture is responsible for the inspection of meats at the great stockyards, and carries on various investigations. The Bureau of Chemistry in the same Department renders special service in analyzing drugs and foodstuffs to see that they comply with federal laws. The Public Health Service, a branch of the Treasury Department, collects health statistics, publishes weekly health reports, and holds conferences with state health authorities. It also cares for the health of the men in public service at sea or in ports, establishes hospitals, enforces quarantine regulations on inbound steamers, and inspects immigrants.

All of our states now have state boards of health.

Their power over local health authorities is usually supervisory and limited, although it varies in the different states. The state board of health or its executive head sometimes can act with supreme power when conditions demand, even to the extent of quarantining the entire state. State boards collect and publish statistics, and aid in the cause of public health in various other ways. The inspection of rural springs and wells, for instance, may be one of their duties. State laws may lay down requirements in regard to air and light in factories, schools, and the like, may regulate the keeping of eggs, butter, and other commodities in cold storage, may arrange for the inspection of cattle and milk, and authorize the necessary inspectors and examiners to enforce such regulations.

Most of the responsibility for enforcing health regulations rests on the local boards. In many states, laws require a health board or officer in every city and town and even in rural districts. The work of these boards may include keeping records of births and deaths, maintaining quarantine laws, and overseeing hospitals. These local boards come into close touch with their communities, and can understand local needs better than a county or state board. Sometimes, however, because of mistaken community sentiment, they may be too lax for the good of the neighboring communities, and the state authorities may have to impose their will upon them.

Mention several occasions respecting the public health when there ought to be very close coöperation between national and state authorities. Do we need more extensive federal authority in the matter than is now exercised? How much power is possessed by your state board of health?

Such matters as the removal of garbage and rubbish, smoke regulations, and the like, must always be mainly local problems. So is the supplying of water to cities great and small, even though the Catskill reservoirs which New York City built are eighty miles away, and Los Angeles

brings water across the desert over two hundred miles. Such water systems cost well up into the millions of dollars. Pure water implies good drainage and sewerage. Now every self-respecting community of any size has a sewer system, and even rural communities may require the construction of septic tanks and other means of preventing the contamination of drinking water. Local governments also pass regulations concerning goods bought and sold in a community. The maintenance of cooling systems in butcher-shops and the exposure of meat and other foods to flies and dirt are subjects covered by such ordinances.

42. Controlling Disease.— When the cause of a disease is known it is not hard to prevent it, if people can only be induced to comply with the necessary conditions.

Malaria and yellow fever are carried by mosquitoes. The plague is carried by rats. So when these carriers are removed, the disease to a great degree ceases. We have not yet learned with certainty the cause of every disease. Cancer, for example, cannot always be traced to any particular cause, and the disease is more common now than ever. Investigations such as the Rockefeller Foundation is undertaking offer much promise of wider knowledge.

We have pointed out that clean streets, clean houses, a good sewerage system, proper filtration of water, the timely



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GUARDING THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

This man is testing milk taken from milk wagons in Boston for signs of tuberculosis germs.

removal of refuse — all are factors in the prevention of disease, and pure food and pure air lessen the chances of illness. Proper medical care is, of course, indispensable in overcoming sickness. Few sick persons should have to do without a physician. Quarantine regulations are, perhaps, the greatest restraint we know of for controlling contagious diseases. Perhaps the schools have neglected an opportunity here, for much medical knowledge could be imparted to every



A MODEL LITTLE HUCKSTER'S CART.

An effort at neatness and cleanliness is evident here which unfortunately is not always found under such conditions.

one instead of being considered a dark secret which only a physician can discover.

Hospitals do much to aid in controlling disease. Most of these institutions are endowed, but some are maintained at public expense. Practically every hospital, whether public or private, maintains a free ward for people who cannot afford to pay for a room or professional services. Some hospitals, though maintained as private institutions, re-

ceive help from the state. The hospital, from the very nature of its mission, should never turn away any one who needs its help.

A vital factor in the control of disease is the attitude of the people of a community. We must not depend upon others—even upon our officials—to make us healthy. Some people seem to be utterly indifferent to duty in respect to the health of their fellow-citizens. Parents permit children to go to school or play in the streets with other children when they are sick themselves or have been exposed to a contagious disease. Others are willfully careless about their own health. Recent years have shown a great change in public thought about certain kinds of diseases, especially those arising out of conditions connected with particular industries. It has been relatively easy to secure the passage of laws requiring such changes in processes or materials used as to foster the health of workers.

The prevention of disease is a big job. The individual, the community, the state, and the nation cannot do too much to help struggling humanity avoid the evils of bad health in the short time allotted them to gain something out of living. A's health should be just as important to B as it is to A himself. As a nation we are healthier than ever before, but perhaps that is not saying much after all.

What would you say to a mother who declared, "Johnny will have the measles some time. I am not going to worry about keeping him away from them now"?

What do you think of the idea that a physician should be paid for keeping you from getting sick rather than for curing you? Why not hire a physician as some people hire lawyers, to keep them out of trouble?

Is a person ever justified in breaking quarantine?

43. Preventing Accidents.—Accidents! We read about them every day of our lives. The newspapers are full of them. It has been said that every sixteen minutes one person is killed in factories or mines, or on railroads. And

fires! We burn over \$300,000,000 every year in the form of houses, stores, and workshops.

Most of these accidents could be prevented. For instance, 85 per cent of the fires are avoidable. They occur



FOOLISH FIRE RISKS.

Leaving rubbish in such places as this is a most inexcusable and unfortunately too common piece of carelessness. People who do this kind of thing deserve severe treatment.

only through carelessness — a still-glowing match dropped; a cigarette butt, neglected rubbish — and pouf! a great fire, with irreparable losses of property and money and perhaps life. Irreparable, we say, for even if the insurance companies make good much of the loss, the premiums which property-owners have paid count up to a still greater figure.

Many of the accidents in factories should be prevented, also. Dangerous, exposed machinery is a constant life-risking proposition. In the mines the pillarage support is often insufficient. Railways and subways are

not protected in some cases to insure public safety.

"Safety first" campaigns are doing much to abolish these conditions. Motorized fire engines replace the old-fashioned "carts." People are realizing that the best way to fight fires is to prevent them. In the factory, the machinery is covered or roped off, and the men are taught to be careful. The old idea, that accidents are inevitable, a part of the necessary risk of industry, we no longer accept. The miners

use safety lamps and insist on the proper mining conditions. The national Bureau of Mines is constantly experimenting to find the surest way to safeguard life. The railways use steel and concrete cars, supplied with safety brakes. Workers in some places must wear goggles.

Industrial diseases, so-called because they are the result of working conditions, are being extensively investigated. A tax high enough to discourage production was put upon poisonous matches, since their manufacture caused the horrible bone disease "phossy jaw." Diseases caused by lead, mercury, brass, or arsenic poisoning are being stopped.

Outside the industries, too, we are really doing better about saving people. Traffic laws are reducing the toll of lives. Ordinances require the removal of ice from pavements. Railroads are abolishing the grade crossing, and have installed automatic couplers and block signals. Public buildings must be equipped with fire extinguishers, and many of these, as well as tenements and apartments, must have fire escapes also. In the homes we are urged to screen fire grates, be careful with gasoline, and have metal gas connections.

Four measures are therefore necessary to make accident prevention effective: educate the ignorant, discipline the careless, enforce our laws, and be careful ourselves. All our measures would be in vain if the individual did not use his own head, "Watch his step," and "Stop, Look, and Listen." For after all, these are the things that count most.

What would you think of an ordinance under which any one who got into an accident in a factory or on the street should be punished, whether he was the most guilty party or not? By what agencies do you think lessons in "safety first" campaigns can be most forcibly impressed?

44. Removing the Slum Evil. — Most of us have heard of the slum, and some of us have seen it. It is a district characterized by congested population and poor living conditions. Its tenements may be five or six stories high, hous-

ing many families, and be little better than fire traps. Its small houses may be even worse in some respects. The slum is always an old part of the city, and its buildings are decorated with the filth of years. When people live under such conditions, they cannot help acquiring their neighbors' ills and vices, and disease and immorality spread rapidly. Flies, rats, and other vermin carry ill-health and



ON THE EAST SIDE OF NEW YORK.

This is Hester Street, New York City. Such scenes can be observed in many streets in that neighborhood. What do you think of such conditions as seed-ground for good citizenship? On Manhattan Island there are over 100,000 people for every square mile of land.

discomfort from the slum to other parts of the city. So it is not alone for the sake of the slum-dwellers, but also for all other parts of the city that the slum should be abolished.

But why do all these conditions exist when we know they are so dangerous to a community's well-being? It is because of the greed of some people and the ignorance of others.

The landlord covets money, and the people submit to his stinginess, perhaps because it is the cheapest way to exist, perhaps because they know nothing better, perhaps because they do not know how to get away. And so some means must be found to force people who want to live in slums for economy's sake to realize how foolish they are, to point out better things to the ignorant, and to help those who cannot help themselves.

Legislation is perhaps the first way to undertake this abolition of the slums. Some cities have building regulations, which require that a building shall not exceed a certain height, that all of a lot shall not be built on, that tenements shall have fire escapes, and a certain number of cubic feet of air be assured each person.

With legislation must go education. We must show these people the right way to live, or improving their houses will be of little value. This the public schools are trying to do. They are giving the child of the foreigner and the child of the poor American higher standards of life, and the children of a household may have some influence on the whole family's mode of life. But the abolition of the slum cannot be accomplished in a week or a month. Besides, personal social service is rendered in a most hopeful fashion, through the settlement houses located in the worst parts of cities and towns. Settlement workers live on the premises or come daily. Children and older people are taught useful arts, and given a chance at healthful amusement and sound advice. Personal cleanliness and home sanitation are taught both by example and by precept.

How to get more houses and better ones is a difficult problem. It may be impossible to get many of the present occupants of congested districts to move away, because they might have to leave their acquaintances and put themselves to the expense of carfare to reach their places of business or employment, when their wages are already low. We must therefore do what we can for them where they are.

Playgrounds and small parks, when they can be opened in such neighborhoods, are a godsend.

Does your community have a slum district? What is being done for it? Is there a rural housing problem? Does your community have or enforce any building codes?

45. "Prohibition." — Why do we put this word in quotation marks, and why put it here at all? Because we can prohibit many things, but have acquired the habit of using the word to refer to the sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage; and because the use of this particular commodity bears directly upon the moral and physical health of a community. Intemperance in the use of liquor leads to poverty, to crime, and to mental and physical deficiency. It affects the one who drinks, his family, and all society. It is needless to dwell upon the unhappiness, the despair, the curse which liquor has brought to thousands of lives. Yet as late as 1914 the consumption of liquor amounted to twenty-two and one-half gallons for every man, woman, and child in the United States. When we consider how many people did not drink, what tanks some must have been!

Prohibition has come about gradually. When people realized the desirability of restricting the liquor traffic, they often undertook to do so by imposing a high license fee on liquor dealers. This practice reduced the number in the business and made it a little easier to watch them, but did not seriously inconvenience the thirsty. Maine, under the lead of Neal Dow, adopted state-wide prohibition in 1846 and never abandoned her policy. Several other states followed, but did not equal her in persistency. Many states preferred a "local option" policy, allowing each county or town to vote on the matter.

But after the beginning of the twentieth century a solid "prohibition" sentiment set in. State after state adopted state prohibition, and finally, by January 16, 1919, the necessary number of states ratified the Eighteenth Amend-

ment to the national Constitution, which was to go into effect one year later. This provides that no intoxicating liquors shall be manufactured or sold in the United States for beverage purposes. Just what shall be considered intoxicating liquor, and under what conditions it may be used for medicinal and mechanical purposes, had to be regulated by act of Congress. The famous Volstead Act declared that liquor containing one-half of one per cent of alcohol was to be considered intoxicating.

The enforcement of the prohibition amendment and the Volstead Act is a very great problem. Some people are unwilling to abandon their drinking habits and insist that the whole prohibition movement is a denial of "personal liberty." Others find "boot-legging" a profitable, even though a risky, business. Even public officials are not above winking at the disregard of the law. But it is to be hoped that the young folk of today, who have less facility in procuring liquor than their fathers, and who do not know the old-time saloon, will finally succeed in making the United States truly "dry."

Before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed people realized that some prohibition measure was necessary concerning the sale of habit-forming drugs. In 1914, the Harrison Narcotic Act was passed, prohibiting the sale of all drugs except by doctor's prescription. Physicians themselves are required to render a strict account of all drugs obtained or prescribed for patients. This is to prevent unscrupulous doctors from becoming rich from the weakness of "dope fiends." In the slums of our large cities the drug fiend is not uncommon. On the whole, though, the drug act has been very well enforced.

Was the saloon of any value whatever? Is any substitute needed for it as a meeting-place for "good fellows"? For what reasons was it inevitable that to make prohibition effective at once was impossible? Do you think the War brought prohibition prematurely? Is there any inconsistency between the Fourth Amend-

ment and the enforcement of the Eighteenth? How can local, state, and national officers coöperate to make prohibition a reality?

46. Restraining Vice. — Restraining vice is a problem of both health and morals, of both city and country. Profanity and vulgarity in speech are said to be typical rural vices, but surely they are not unknown to city people. Immorality is found in all kinds of communities — the remote rural hamlet, the slum, and the quarters of the "upper" classes of society. Evidently conditions exactly opposite may produce it — the lack of opportunity for right social companionship in isolated districts and the nervous excitement of certain phases of city life seem to be equally responsible.

At one time a favorite custom of city authorities was to set apart a certain district where almost anything would be allowed, short of murder. It was common knowledge that this was the "red light" district, and people who went there took their own chances of coming back with their money, their health, or their reputation. Officials argued that vice would be indulged in anyway, and that it was best to keep it in one district where it would not contaminate the rest of the city. Besides, some of them were handsomely compensated by the proprietors of houses in the district. But as a means of effective restraint, this plan was a flat failure. The only way to deal with vice is to hit it hard wherever it appears.

Yet the remedy is not wholly one of law. Education has a big opportunity here. It seems as if few people would take a chance if they knew the horrible consequences that immorality so often causes to those who practice it and to their unfortunate children. The church and the school, as well as parents, have neglected their duty. The knowledge of one set of physiological facts should not be any more undesirable than another, and would not be if taught in the right way. We do not need to talk with the freedom of Shakespeare in order to possess the information

that saves from physical degeneracy and moral disaster. "I didn't know" is sometimes as sad a phrase as "it might have been." Get the facts, but get them from the right people — your parents, your physical instructor, your physician.

Some vicious habits associate themselves with recreation. The public dance hall, where all sorts and conditions of people mingle, takes many young men and women into bad company, and sometimes leads to disastrous looseness of conduct. Such places should be abolished or strictly supervised by local authorities and carried on properly. The environment of the ordinary pool-room is far from uplifting. Cheap vaudeville and burlesque are frequently degrading. Even the highest priced theaters are often justly criticized for failing to maintain the standards of which they are capable. Cafés, restaurants, and cabarets combine amusement with refreshment, and very often the degree of hilarity reached in such places is abominable.

One of the greatest of harmful amusements is gambling. The idea of getting something for nothing appeals to some people, while others like the excitement that comes from taking a chance. Open gambling and betting were more prevalent formerly than they are now. Lotteries used to be very conspicuous forms of gambling in this country, and are still in some parts of Europe. The Louisiana Lottery did an enormous business in every state until stopped by an act of Congress forbidding the mails to be used for such purposes. But in spite of the fact that they are forbidden, lotteries and gambling houses are still carried on. It is hard to determine whether this is due to neglect of duty on the part of officials, or a low standard of public sentiment. Some of us may be inclined to say, "if fools want to gamble, let them go ahead." But there are a great many people in the world who need to be protected against themselves. A community cannot afford to have its members throwing away time, money, and character.

47. Relieving Defectives. — In every community there are certain people who cannot, and others who will not, take proper care of themselves. These may be divided into three classes: *dependents* cannot provide themselves properly with the necessities of life, and include the poor, the



WORK FOR THE BLIND.

The blind seem to be particularly gifted with a sense for music. Such a trade as piano tuning they follow with much success.

crippled, the sick, old people, and young children; *defectives* comprise those who lack some physical sense or mental power possessed by the normal person, such as the deaf and dumb, the blind, the insane, and the feeble-minded; *delinquents* are those whose actions are either immoral or illegal.

Each of these classes, and each type in each class, needs special care. The community must usually attend to the delinquent, as we shall see later. The relatives and friends of the other two classes cannot always provide for them, and frequently there are no relatives or

friends. Besides, better care can often be given in institutions than in private homes.

Much of this work also must be done by public agencies. Blind people, of whom there are 52,000 or more in this country, may, because of their extraordinary sense of touch, become very adept at sewing, weaving, crocheting, carving, making brooms, baskets, and articles of cane furniture. They also make good piano tuners and musical artists, owing to their sharpened hearing. Unless they are physically defective in other ways, as is not uncommon, they can be

independent to a certain degree, and be useful to themselves and others. The use of raised letters and perforations enables them to learn almost any subject that can be taught from books.

Name people who became notable in spite of blindness — perhaps because of it.

There are about 90,000 deaf people in the United States. Of these a little more than half are totally deaf. It is natural for us to say, "deaf and dumb," but only one-fourth of the deaf are devoid of speech. They do not talk because they cannot hear others to learn how. Of all the deaf people about one-fifth were born deaf. Besides using sign language, deaf mutes often become very proficient in lip reading, even learning to shape letters themselves without articulation. Great advances have been made in teaching the deaf and dumb, so that it is possible for them to get along very well by themselves.

There are two types of mental defectives, the insane and the feeble-minded. An *insane* person is one who has possessed normal faculties, but through some misfortune has lost them. The *feeble-minded* never had average mental powers. Some one has called them "God's unfinished people." In the United States there are over 200,000 insane, and over 300,000 feeble-minded. Statistics seem to show more insane people than formerly, but the apparent increase is probably due to improved means of obtaining statistics, the greater number placed in institutions, and the advancement made in detecting insanity in its early stages.

In very early times, the insane were neglected if they were peaceful and burned or drowned if they were dangerous or boisterous. They were called witches, or it was said they were possessed with a devil. Later, institutions were provided for the insane, but they were shamefully treated and lived under terrible conditions. With the nineteenth century the humanitarian period began. People began to real-

ize that the insane suffered and knew they were suffering. Today in an insane asylum surroundings are made as sanitary and pleasant as possible, medical care is provided, the inmates enjoy recreation, are given some useful employment and are watched carefully for signs of sanity. This has made possible the cure of about one-fourth of the patients thus treated.

There are public, semi-public, and private institutions for the insane. Some hospitals, too, have an insane department, as do poor farms and almshouses in many places. Some insane may be found in prisons, but it is probable that more criminals are found in insane asylums. States usually maintain an institution for the insane, and counties, cities, and towns have their own provisions for these people. All insane people should be kept in institutions in order that they may receive the best possible care.

What do you think of the proposal that physicians should painlessly put to death the hopelessly insane and infants that will never be anything but a burden to their families?

The feeble-minded may be divided into three classes: the *idiot*, whose mentality never exceeds that of a two-year-old child; the *imbecile*, who may have the mental powers of a child of eight; and the *moron*, whose mental development is that of a child from eight to twelve. The idiot cannot talk nor understand when spoken to. He cares for nothing but the satisfaction of his physical wants, and never reaches maturity. The imbecile can speak, but he cannot read or write. He can, under the proper conditions, do certain kinds of work. The moron is in some respects the most dangerous of the feeble-minded. He can do some work, and he knows enough so that he is often considered only slow or ignorant. In many cases he is thought to be normal, and he mingles freely with other people. He is permitted to marry and produce feeble-minded descendants, who are a burden to society.

By the use of some of the numerous varieties of mental test, the "mental age" of all kinds of people can very accurately be determined. Indeed, tests with a similar purpose are often given in schools, in order that the teacher may know which pupils are above or below the normal mentality, and may give special help to pupils who need it. The feeble-minded ought to be cared for in special institutions of their own, but many are still found in almshouses, hospitals, reformatories, and prisons. It is a wrong kind of sympathy that laments when one of these unfortunates is taken from his family and placed where he will get just the treatment that his misfortune needs.

SPECIAL STUDIES

City Systems of Water Supply.

Climate as a Factor in Health.

Our Town as a Health Resort.

The Chemistry of the Air.

Quarantine Regulations.

Public Health Officers of Our State and Community.

The National Government's Relation to the Health Problem.

The History of Prohibition.

The Cost of the Liquor Traffic *vs.* the Cost of Prohibition.

The Drug Habit and Its Restraint.

Alcohol and Its Relation to Health.

Patent Medicines.

The Struggle against Infant Mortality.

The Maintenance of Hospitals.

Institutions for the Blind.

The Care of the Deaf and Dumb.

Insane Asylums.

Institutions for the Feeble-Minded.

Tests for Mental Ability.

The Elimination or Control of Common Diseases.

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The Theory of Malthus and the Attitude of Students toward It Today.

The Story of Helen Keller.

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The Jukes and the Kallikak Family.

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Systems of Reading for the Blind.
Problems of Rural Health.
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The Influenza Epidemic.
The Extermination of Dangerous Insects.
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B. Affording Pleasure

48. What Is Recreation? — If we did nothing but work and eat and sleep day after day, we should be very dull and uninteresting to ourselves and to others. Most of us would get little happiness in living. When people worked twelve hours a day, they were too exhausted at night to bother with recreation. But with the shortening of the working day has come more time for pleasure. People realize that a change enables them to do their work better and to get more out of life. It is absolutely necessary to renew strength

for the day's work by rebuilding torn down tissues, by resting the mind and body, and by exercising the powers not specially employed in one's daily tasks. Surely, to provide such variety in life for everybody is one of the most certain ways to encourage right living.

What is recreation for one may not be for another. A man who does physical labor all day may find relaxation



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FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD.

A fishing scene in the Adirondacks. Does this kind of recreation appeal to you? Compare it with the kind illustrated on page 106.

and pleasure in the pages of a magazine or book, while an office worker may prefer golf, tennis, or baseball. Recreation in general may be defined, then, as a change of occupation or activity that makes possible the acquisition or renewal of physical or mental powers.

What form of recreation do you like best? Does it do all that recreation should do for you?

49. Community Agencies for Recreation.—The community has two phases of recreation to consider, recreation for the child and for the grown-up. Play is the natural mode of expression for a child, the natural outlet for his energy. Play has an individual value in that it develops a child, physically and mentally. Playing with other children cultivates human understanding, accuracy of judgment, and a tolerant disposition. The child cries, "Play fair," not realizing that he is sounding the greatest social doctrine in the world. Justice, reason, coöperation and team-work, responsibility and self-control — wholesome play promotes all these in the child.

So many communities, in recognition of the part play has in a child's development, maintain playgrounds for the children, with supervisors to watch over them, to teach them games and direct their play. These playgrounds keep the children, particularly those in the poorer, crowded sections, off the streets. However, these agencies of recreation have not been perfected yet, and there is still much to be desired. Supervision and general conditions in playgrounds are not all they should be, and many parents forbid their children to go near them, because of the roughness of the boys and the incompetency of the supervisor to prevent fighting or control the actions and words of children who lack proper home training.

The public park, especially if it boasts a zoo, offers recreation to the children. The children's room of the library and even the museum help pass the time for the youngsters. Some communities set aside lots for public gardening, and when such is the case the boys and girls delight in truck farming on a large scale, thereby gaining useful knowledge and physical good, besides the products of the soil.

But grown-ups as well as children need recreation. Chicago, though not the originator of playgrounds, was the first place to start recreation on a municipal plan. Its parks offer plenty of green grass and shady trees, under which

the children may play in the hot summer, and contain field houses with club rooms, baths, gymnasiums, and outside swimming pools, football fields, baseball diamonds, and tennis courts. In the park the adult finds many different diversions, and a family picnic is a delightful event. This type of public park is greatly to be desired and it is hoped will be more common in the future.

Not every community can do what Chicago has done. They do not all have the open space or the level ground. Yet few of them have any right to assume that their case is hopeless. Children's playgrounds, at least, are possible almost everywhere, though not many more than one-third of our large or medium sized communities have them. If a town can do nothing else, it can set aside for the children a few streets not needed for traffic, and let them play there. A lack of interest in this need of recreation is notable in some of our cities, and even today they do not try to meet the need as well as they could. A community that does provide for its people's recreation is doing much to prevent crime and promote good citizenship. And a citizen who wastes his time on "recreation" which harms him rather than helps him is failing in a civic duty.

Point out the different ways in which play benefits the following: a kindergarten child, a high school student, a farmer's son, a business man, a mill worker, a housewife, an office girl. Why will a boy put forth several times as much energy in tennis or dancing — and call it fun — as he would expend on gardening or mowing the lawn? Do grown-ups ever do this kind of thing? Why is baseball the great American game? What institutions mentioned in connection with education afford recreation also? Are playgrounds needed in rural districts? Should rural residents spend their vacations in the city? How should vacations be used? Does everybody need an occasional vacation?

50. Private Agencies for Recreation. — Many people are so anxious to have recreation that they will pay money for it if it is not free. Furnishing "recreation" has therefore become a regular business, whose managers are simply after

the shekels. Whatever good they do is wholly incidental and accidental.

The theater is an outgrowth of hundreds of years of trial — but there are “theaters and theaters.” The dance hall promotes sociability, but its influence, too, is frequently far from good. The amusement park is a source of fun, but its good points extend no further.* Many such parks



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A SCENE AT CONEY ISLAND.

This is an example of the kind of recreation which makes you wonder after it is over whether you have been working or playing. Several million people visit this place in the course of a year.

are owned by street railway companies and everything costs there. At Coney Island or Revere Beach nothing is free except the air and perhaps the water. Professional baseball has done as much good to the public as any commercialized form of amusement, but gamblers and other cheap “sports” have harmed even this enterprise.

Concerts and lectures conducted under private auspices

may be helpful as well as entertaining. Religious organizations of various kinds, social clubs, and athletic associations, though interested mainly in serving the varied needs of their particular members or interested persons, may be a strong factor in uplifting the general standard of recreation.

What kind of plays appear in the theaters of your own town? Did you ever know a private amusement manager who deliberately sacrificed money for the sake of art or culture or morals? Does Barney Dreyfuss, owner of the Pittsburgh Base Ball Club, deserve any credit for not selling advertising space on the fences of his park?

Most generally patronized today of all forms of amusement are the moving picture theaters. Thousands of people flock there both afternoon and evening, and enormous profits are secured by successful actors, actresses, and managers.

Now what do the "movies" do for us? It is said that they offer relaxation; they give the poor man recreation at a low price; they attract young people from more harmful diversions; they bring the world before the eyes of the public, aid in understanding human nature and the events of the day, and are therefore distinctly educational. On the other hand, they keep people indoors, often under crowded or unsanitary conditions; they do one's thinking for him—"a person checks his brains with his hat"; they too often give a wrong aspect to life; they have been known to induce people, especially children, to commit crimes, "as they do in the movies"; they put romantic notions into the heads of school girls, and give base suggestions to young and old alike.

A few states have boards of censors, and the moving-picture interests have themselves established a national board of censorship. The effect of the movies lies in some measure in the hands of these people. But it is the public who can, if it will, bring about better things. If the public shows its disapproval of a picture the film will soon be withdrawn. The movie man is very sensitive in the region of the pocket-book.

Facilities for community gatherings for recreation and amusement are as necessary in the country as in the city. Sometimes when the church and the school have not risen to their opportunities, the Grange does a valuable service in this line. Too often only movies and other "shows" of a poor quality reach the small town and the rural districts. But by proper coöperation of all concerned this fault could be removed. Perhaps good shows could not be "put on" every night, but they could appear often enough to meet every reasonable demand.

What kind of plays appear in your own town? Should films of prize fights be shown? What did you learn at the last movie you attended?

Has the commercializing of recreation tended to deprive people of the ability to amuse themselves? Compare the types of amusement common fifty years ago and today, in country and in city.

C. Enhancing Beauty

51. Community Planning. — "Beauty, when unadorned, adorned the most," says the proverb. When Nature has done her best, man cannot hope to surpass her. But suppose we are in a region where Nature made no attempt to display her powers, or are trying to build a town for which Nature made no special provision. Then we must help Nature to add touches of beauty and make over her natural forms to suit our comfort. Such planning must come in advance if we are to serve best the three great objects of beauty, health, and convenience.

A community planned to meet these objects has many advantages over a city which was not planned. Its citizens take more pride in their homes. They not only keep their own property clean, but see that public property is kept in good condition. An attractive community impresses strangers and induces people to come to live in it. The well-planned city is easy to get around in and thus business is encouraged. A definite system of planning promotes

health and general well-being. A well-planned community is more desirable in every way than one which, like Topsy, "just grew" — sometimes along cowpaths or Indian trails.



OUR NATIONAL CAPITAL.

Courtesy Air Service.

Near the center of this picture stands the Capitol with the Senate and House office buildings on either side. Beyond this is the Union Station. The general plan of the city can be clearly distinguished.

Most of our older American cities are of this latter type. Boston is most bewildering to a stranger, so interlaced and winding are many of its streets. The older parts of New York seem utterly hopeless to one who is not familiar with them. As a representative of the well-planned city, Washington holds a leading place. Its streets intersect at right angles, but beginning at the Capitol there are broad avenues which extend, like the spokes of a wheel, to the outskirts of the city. William Penn laid out Philadelphia carefully, on the checkerboard plan; but Penn unfortunately did not

foresee how the city was to grow, and most of the streets in the older sections of the present city are far too narrow.

Topographical conditions must play a great part in the planning of a city. At Pittsburgh, for instance, the hills rising close to the rivers make a definite system of planning very difficult. Many bridges have had to be built as the city expanded, to cross the rivers at different points and to extend over deep ravines in the city proper. Chicago has none of these problems to face, except for those offered by its winding river, but had to take the lake front into consideration when its streets were planned. Cities often have to be laid out in accordance with natural lines, with little semblance of definite arrangement. But even in such cases it is possible to beautify the streets, take good care of buildings, keep attractive parks, and prevent ugly and unsightly places.

Does your town show signs of having been planned? If so, point them out. Do you think community planning is more conspicuous in large or small towns? Draw a sketch of the general plan of some community not mentioned above. Is community planning a rural as well as an urban problem?

52. Community Attractiveness.—But the direction in which the streets are to run is not the only thing that must be planned. To serve the three objects we have mentioned, a street must be paved, and should be wide enough to accommodate the traffic. The cleaning of streets is important to both health and beauty. Street lighting is necessary for protection and safety, and can add much to a street's appearance. Trees and grass make streets attractive. Several large cities plan their boulevards so as to leave rounded or triangular islands of grass and shrubs between in-going and out-going traffic. Chicago demands that every boulevard and residential street in the newer parts of the city have from two to three feet of grass between the sidewalk and the curbstone. Well-kept lawns and porches with flowering plants or vines tell of a neighborhood's sense of beauty.

Is there likely to be any connection between a "city beautiful" and a city of good morals? How much responsibility rests upon the individual citizen for having an attractive city? Under what circumstances and to what extent should beauty be secondary to other considerations?

The city which has beautiful parks, or even one fine park, is much better off than one which lacks such beauty spots.



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A MODEL CITY BOULEVARD.

This is Delaware Avenue in Buffalo. There are few more attractive streets in the country. Notice the width of the street, the parkways, and the wide, open lawns.

To live among sordid, ugly surroundings cramps the soul as well as destroys health. Parks give a breathing space in the fresh air and a glimpse of Nature to people who otherwise would never see such things, and they should be conveniently situated for those who need them most.

Should a park be left as far as possible in its natural condition? What merits or demerits does a natural park have as compared with an artificial park?

No matter how beautiful the buildings we erect nor how wide and smooth the streets, a community lacks in attractiveness if it is marred by unsightly places. Rubbish-strewn vacant lots, dump-heaps, and the like are eyesores which need not and should not exist. Every city has certain sections where the houses look as though they had never seen paint; some public parking lots are ugly; and of course, the slums of any city are unsightly. Glaring signboards may amuse the children but move people with an artistic soul to tears or curses.

Did you ever see a really artistic signboard? If there is such a thing, is it right to put it anywhere and everywhere? Are there any ugly spots which are unavoidable?

Zoning aids much in community attractiveness. Many a beautiful residential section has been spoiled by the erection of a garage or business house. Property depreciates rapidly in such a case. Zoning laws divide a town or city into several sections — one for factories, one for business houses, perhaps a separate one for wholesale and for retail firms, others for residences, and the like. Of course, sufficient room must be allowed for further development. In a large city more than one business section is necessary for the convenience of the people. Or perhaps one avenue or street, extending through the whole city, may be devoted to business pursuits alone.

Some cities have laws requiring that only a certain type of buildings be erected in some particular section. Frame houses are prohibited in some places. A business house can be attractive just as well as not, and is more so than otherwise if its general outline and style of architecture is in keeping with the buildings surrounding it.

Who are likely to favor and who are likely to oppose zoning laws in a city? Has a person the right to do what he pleases with his property? What zoning laws or customs does your community have?

∴ The ideal community, be it large or small, urban or rural, cares for every phase of its people's health by law, by education, and by the correct attitude of its individual members. The ideal community is a City Beautiful. It is planned with reference to health, convenience, and beauty. It has no slums, no unsightly spots, no menaces to morals. It keeps its citizens out of mischief by affording plenty of opportunity for healthful work and joyful recreation.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Slums of New York (or some other city, if more convenient to study, or your own community).

Public Playgrounds.

Reasons for increased demand for them.

Individual values.

Community values.

Location.

Cost.

Agencies to aid and support these establishments.

Recreation Facilities in Our Community.

Private Amusement Agencies in Our Community.

Recreation in Rural Life.

Recreation in the Small Town.

Our Moving-Picture Theaters.

Number and location.

Size, construction, and equipment.

Character of exhibitions.

Attendance and popular interest.

Effect on other theaters, churches, etc.

Value or harm to the community.

The National Game.

The Plan of Our Community.

The Arrangement and Naming of City Streets.

Our Community as a City Beautiful.

The Park System of Chicago (or some other city).

Sights and Scenes in Our Community That Should Be Removed.

The Zoning Laws of New York.

Railroads as Factors in the Appearance of a Community.

An Ideal Community Plan.

Resolved, that the general effect of the moving-picture theater is detrimental to community life.

Resolved, that commercial billboards should be prohibited.

REFERENCE READINGS

- Curtis — Education through Play.**
Foght — The Rural Teacher, Chapter 6.
The American City (frequent articles).
Howe — The Modern City and Its Problems.
Zueblin — American Municipal Progress.
Pollock and Morgan — Modern Cities.
Robinson — Improvements of Towns and Cities.
Robinson — Modern Civic Art.
Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 29.
Beard — American City Government, Chapters 9, 13, 14.
Burch and Patterson — American Social Problems, Chapter 5.
Rowe — Society, Chapters 7, 16, 21.
Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapters 14–16.

V. PROMOTING RIGHT RELATIONS AMONG MEN

Health of the mind, health of the body, health of the spirit, are all essential to a sound life. Why do people seek anything less than the best in matters of conduct? What shall we do with those who disregard their neighbors' rights and welfare? How can we establish conditions in the relations of men in government and business that will cause them to do the right?

A. Restraining Wrong-Doers

53. Why People Do Wrong. — It is unfortunate that the world is not a Utopia, a land where every one does right; but men are not angels — many do wrong and these evil-doers cause most of our social problems. Just as the attractiveness of the things about us and our health and well-being play their part in raising the standard of our American life, so the conduct of people has its place in this great problem. But why do people do wrong? What motives prompt their actions? We need to understand the causes of wrong-doing in order to act most effectively in abolishing or decreasing it.

Perhaps the two great underlying causes for crime are *heredity* and *environment*. A criminal streak can often be traced back for generations. Environment may be either physical or personal. Contact with criminal or low-minded friends and companions cannot fail to influence a man in the wrong direction unless his backbone is exceptionally strong.

One specific cause is *poverty*. If a man is hungry and has no money, he is often tempted to take food or money from another. Then too, a person may do wrong because he does not know any better. *Ignorance* often leads to crime.

Bad habits such as drinking and taking drugs also lead people to do wrong. *Mental deficiency* is another cause. When a man commits a crime for revenge, he shows that he does not know there is a better way to do justice or if he knows he does not care. People may do wrong because of a *lack of will power* to resist temptation. Others have a *desire for excitement*, and crime is a means of attaining it. Still others are afflicted with such *laziness* that they will not work in order to earn a living and follow the supposedly easier path of crime instead. *Unemployment* brings on both idleness and poverty, and both are causes of crime. *Failure to enforce law*, too, encourages people to disregard not only the unenforced laws, but others as well.

And so we may trace a criminal's wrong-doing to one or more of many causes. Indeed, the causes overlap, one condition aiding to produce another. We may not be able to specify in a particular case just "the moving why they do it." But we know that these influences do suggest crime, and that in removing evil conditions we can make right conduct easier.

Which of the causes of crime may be called *fundamental* and which *derived*? Show how one cause may lead to another. Are some causes more active in rural districts than in cities, and vice versa? Do you think many people deliberately choose to do wrong rather than right? Does the fact that a man may be led into crime by others excuse him?

54. Forms of Crime. — First let us be sure we understand what the word means. *Crime* is any violation of the law. Crime may be a failure to perform a certain act as well as the doing of an act contrary to law. It may therefore be omission or commission. However wrong an act may be morally, it is not a crime unless it is a violation of law. Often certain acts are permitted to go on for a long time before society makes them crimes. Crimes have been classified in various ways, but the different forms of crime are in general as follows:

- (1) Offenses against the state — treason, rebellion, counterfeiting, rioting.
- (2) Offenses against morals and decency — blasphemy, keeping disorderly houses, conducting vulgar shows.
- (3) Offenses against the person — murder, manslaughter, assault.
- (4) Offenses against property — burglary, larceny, embezzlement, obtaining money under false pretenses, willful destruction.
- (5) Abuses of public authority — false arrest, accepting bribes, blackmail, and the like, if committed by a public officer.

If any of these terms are not understood, look them up in the dictionary.

55. Dealing with Criminals. — In early days the chief idea in dealing with criminals was vengeance. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" was the principle. The milder teachings of Christianity failed to make much of an impression on churchmen or public officials for many centuries. All offenses were severely punished. There were at one time about one hundred offenses for which death was the penalty. Some people were hanged for stealing a loaf of bread. But toward the end of the eighteenth century a new attitude began to appear. Punishment for crime was made more reasonable and became fitted to the crime. The penalty for murder should be heavier, for instance, than that for burglary, because taking life is the greater offense.

Our aim today is not to get revenge on the criminal nor merely to punish him for his offense, but to deter others from doing as he did, and to reform him so that he will not commit further crime. To get to the very root of the matter, we believe that the causes for crime should be removed. But because this cannot be done all at once, it is necessary to protect society by keeping the criminal away from the public, and to aid in preventing further crime by making the result unpleasant to the criminal.

Almost all counties, cities, and towns have their jails or

prisons where people may be kept until they are tried and in which some may serve their terms if they are sentenced. Unfortunately, some jails still cause more crime than they cure. They are dirty and poorly lighted and ventilated, and the prisoners are not separated according to the seriousness



BLACKWELL'S ISLAND.

On this island are situated the buildings to which convicted criminals of New York City are sent. It is now called Welfare Island.

of their crimes. People who must serve long sentences are usually sent to a state prison or penitentiary.

One improved feature of modern prison management is the classification of criminals. Formerly the hardened criminal and the boy who was innocent or had committed his first petty offense were permitted to mingle with the worst possible results. Now, instead of herding all kinds of criminals together — the hardened and the first offender, the young and the old, the tramp and the insane, the different types are separated. Many states have established reformatories

for young wrong-doers, industrial reformatories for first offenders, work-houses for vagrants, inebriate asylums for drug and liquor addicts, special institutions for the insane and feeble-minded, and penitentiaries for worse criminals.

Another means of encouraging criminals to do better is the graded system of conduct. The convict is advanced or demerited by his behavior. Those receiving high grades have special privileges which those in lower grades cannot enjoy. Sometimes after having served part of his sentence and behaving well, a person is released from prison on *parole*, and is required to report to a parole officer from time to time. If he does not report or commits any further crime he is brought back to the prison. This system enables him to work and to earn honest money, while he is under the authority of people who help him to avoid doing wrong. In many cases this plan has been very successful.

The *indeterminate sentence* has been very popular in recent years. A man may be sentenced, for example, to not more than ten years' or less than two years' imprisonment. The officials of the institution in which a criminal is kept judge by his behavior and attitude when he deserves to be released. This encourages good behavior and a right attitude toward the authorities on the part of the prisoner. Of the opposite type is the *cumulative sentence*, which adds to the term of the criminal if he shows no signs of reforming. For each successive offense he must serve a longer term than the one before. He may have to be kept in an institution permanently.

Other prison-keepers have adopted changes to help the criminal remember that he is still a human being. In many institutions prisoners no longer wear striped suits nor have their hair clipped nor walk in the lockstep. The prisons and other penal institutions are healthful. Educational facilities are provided. Sometimes the inmates have bands and orchestras, athletic contests, and the like, and even publish a newspaper.

Is capital punishment consistent with modern ideas of reformation? Can we do too much for our criminals? How can we decide when we have done enough?

56. Preventing Criminals. — It is not sufficient merely to reform those who have committed crimes. "A stitch in time saves nine," is a sound proverb. To prevent people from becoming criminals is far better and in the long run far cheaper than to punish them after they have done wrong. We must wipe out the slums and improve living and working conditions and provide better facilities for uplifting recreation. By eliminating vice and intemperance, and doing away as far as possible with poverty and unemployment we can greatly decrease the number of criminals. We also need better educational facilities, more rigid enforcement of laws concerning school attendance, and practical training for trades.

Workshops in the prisons keep the prisoners busy while they are serving their terms and give them something to do besides brooding over the "raw deal" they claim to have received and planning to commit further crime when they are released. Furthermore they are enabled to earn a little money which can be used to help their families. Such occupation makes the prisoners feel that they are accomplishing something in which they may take an honest pride; and when they are released, they have had training in some profitable trade. The products made in prisons are usually brooms, carpets, wicker furniture, and the like.

The "graduates" of Sing Sing and similar institutions have often found it hard to get a real job. People are likely to give them the "cold shoulder" after they are released. Yet if anything would turn them back to crime, such treatment would do so. But we are now more inclined to give them a helping hand in gaining a new start. There are private societies which give the released convict food and shelter until he finds work, help him to get employment, and give him advice that he knows is friendly and sincere.

The prisoner on leaving the prison usually gets a suit of clothes and a small sum of money, but unless he has a home to go to, these will not serve his needs very long. Some employers have made a special point of hiring ex-convicts who seem likely to make good. To save a man or woman from moral ruin is a social service very much worth while.

Name some institutions in your neighborhood which help released prisoners. By what means do they bring about whatever good they accomplish?

Perhaps still more important is to save young offenders from becoming hardened criminals. Every populous community now has a Juvenile Court. The judge or probation officers of this court investigate the surroundings of the young criminal and try to find out what has caused him to do wrong. They discover the kind of people his parents are, the environment in which he lives, and the companions with whom he associates. Then they can often remove the causes of his going astray. If necessary they take him away from his parents and place him in a private home or in an institution. Sometimes a "big brother" or a "big sister" is found for such a child — a man or woman of sound principles and sympathetic interest who will always be ready with good counsel and companionship to help the younger person to keep in the right path.

A juvenile court judge is at liberty to fit the punishment to the offender. For the first offense a child is often put on probation. A second or more serious offense will send the boy or girl to a training school or reformatory maintained by the state or the county. The institutions teach trades which will help their inmates to earn an honest living later.

Is there a juvenile court near your home? How is it conducted? How much does it accomplish?

57. Purifying Politics. — Not all the wrong-doing is committed by those who are labeled criminals. Some of it is entirely within the law. Some wrong-doers are socially

"respectable" and hold high places in business. Yet they will do things in politics which they would not do elsewhere, and make clean conduct in public life very difficult.

A certain large city had experienced a spasm of reform. An election was on to determine whether a district attorney representing the "machine" or the reform element should have the next term. As the returns were bulletined in the evening at one of the newspaper offices, and the reports indicated the success of the "organization" candidate, the big crowd broke out spontaneously into "song":

"Hail, hail, the gang's all here"!

There are political mobs as well as other kinds. It is the mob spirit in politics that causes that menace to our democracy — the party machine.

Why do people put up with shady politics? There are several reasons. They would not tolerate corruption, fraud, and the spoils system if they were plainly labeled as such. But the people do not know what is going on. They see little and believe less. Partisan newspapers of course present many scandalous tales about the "other" party, but we usually discount them as "newspaper talk," and sometimes we are right in doing so.

A certain senator said some years ago, "The purification of politics is an iridescent dream." People are so accustomed to rotten politics that they do not realize that politics can be good. Others take no interest or do not care. They excuse everything by saying that anything goes in politics. Suppose we had such a state of public sentiment that a candidate in whose interest large sums of money were spent immediately fell under suspicion. What a world of difference we should see in the use of money!

Some attempts have been made by both the national and state legislation, to do away with the excessive use of money in politics. In some cases the law limits the amount of money any individual may contribute to a campaign fund.

This is to prevent giving large amounts with the expectation of getting special favors later. These laws apply especially to corporations. Parties and candidates are also required to publish reports of the money they spend and the purposes for which it is spent. Sometimes a candidate for a particular office is forbidden to spend more than a certain amount.

The people can do what they will in this matter. If they demand good government they will get it. Public officers are supposed to act for the people and the people can force them to do so. The people must keep awake and know what goes on. A city or state with a large independent vote can easily secure good government, for even a "machine" will do well if that is the only way it can stay in power. But if the public blindly supports candidates named by self-appointed bosses, it will get the kind of government it deserves.

What means that are not actual bribery do party agents use to get votes in your district? What do you consider justifiable ways to spend money in campaigns?

How can you better the politics in your town? Would a change in the form of local government help? Why are reformers often ridiculed?

Elections are undoubtedly more honest than they were once. The man who thinks cannot easily be bribed. The wider we spread education and the more stress we lay upon common honesty in public life, by so much are we going to make clean politics not a *dream* but more nearly a reality. One way to help is for *you* to go into politics and stay honest. The citizen who is qualified to render public service and refuses to do so deserves as truly to be called selfish and unworthy as the person who is unfit but who seeks office for individual gain.

58. The Golden Rule in Business. — Does business need house-cleaning too? At one time a business man could do

almost anything within his legal rights and excuse himself by the plea that "business is business" — "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." But now we have in every large town a club devoted to the principle of the Golden Rule in Business, and financial experts talk about the value of religion in business.

Looking at the matter of honesty from a purely financial and selfish standpoint, "honesty is the best policy" in business. In the first place every man wants to be known as an honest man. No person wants to have dealings with a dishonest person. A person who cheats in his business is certain to be the loser in the end. A man who keeps straight books and pays his debts readily obtains credit, and credit is essential in business.

But can a business man do more than merely keep within the law? Can he carry out the Golden Rule in business? It means nothing more than to be absolutely fair and honest, for that is all we ask that other business people should do for us. Hundreds of business firms all over the country have proved that the Golden Rule can be practiced with profit to both the firm and the public. When a business house does the right thing by its patrons, its policy is soon recognized and its patronage increases.

The Golden Rule in business does not mean that you must give an extra half pound of sugar or a half yard more silk than the customer asks for. It is not necessary to cheat one's self. But by the Golden Rule we mean giving honest measure, selling goods at their real value, and in all ways "playing square." If all our business men would set such an example, what a tremendous inspiration to clean conduct it would be!

Can you think of any circumstance in business where the Golden Rule might not prove advantageous? Why is it not followed to a greater extent? Does successful business consist in "beating the other fellow to it"? What principles underlie fair competition?

59. Keeping Contracts. — Keeping agreements is fundamental in business as in private life. The whole foundation of business life rests upon promises, and prosperity depends upon the keeping of these promises. The extensive canceling of orders after the Great War caused serious inconvenience and sometimes bankruptcy. A *contract* is a written agreement entered into by two or more parties to perform a specified act. So a contract covers a wide range of agreements. It may be made between an employer and an employee regarding work to be done, or it may be a franchise for a street car company. Whatever it is, the parties concerned should live up to it.

So important did this principle appear to the makers of the Constitution that they inserted a clause which says that 'no state shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts' — implying, in other words, that contracts should be held sacred. A contract once legally made is binding unless all persons concerned agree not to carry it out. In the famous Dartmouth College case, Chief Justice Marshall ruled that the charter of a college was a contract which could not be altered by a state legislature. The broad interpretation of the word is firmly established in law.

In one sense bankruptcy laws, which may be passed by Congress or the state legislature, may interfere with the full performance of contracts. Yet a case in bankruptcy simply recognizes a fact. A bankrupt cannot pay all his debts anyway, and it is doubtless best for all concerned that his business should be cleaned up. Then a new start can be made with hope of success. An honest man will never take advantage of bankruptcy laws to escape paying his just debts. If he is ever able to do so, he will pay off all his obligations one hundred cents to the dollar. An honest man will keep his word even if the law does not force him to do so.

Is it ever advisable to break a contract? Study forms of contracts used in business, so as to become familiar with their language.

The "square deal," a phrase which Roosevelt made popular, in a sense sums up all we have said about ethics in business — the square deal toward one's business associates, toward competitors, and toward the public.

If a business man practices the square deal towards his employee, he will pay him fairly for his work, reward special effort or service, and provide the very best conditions under which to labor. The employee, in turn, who believes in the square deal, will give "a fair day's work for a fair day's wage." He will not loaf on the job but will look out for his employer's interests as well as his own. He will feel in a sense a kind of partnership in the business.

The square deal toward competitors and associates calls simply for honesty and the keeping of one's word. To practice the square deal toward the public the business man must sell honest goods for a reasonable price, and treat the public courteously. The public official must not look upon his position as "easy" money or as an opportunity for graft. The ordinary citizen must realize that whatever he fails to do in community service will probably not be done at all. If everybody would only practice the square deal, we should have the problem of establishing right relations among men solved at once and forever.

Apply the principle of the square deal in school life; in home relationships.

To what extent do the items mentioned in the question at the end of section 11 indicate the standard of social and moral life in a community?

SPECIAL STUDIES

Old-Time and Modern Criminals.

Medieval Methods of Trial.

The Old English Criminal Code.

Criminal Codes in the American Colonies.

Crime in City and Country.

Sources from Which Criminals Come.

Prisons of the Old Days.

John Howard.

Dorothea Dix.

An Up-to-date Prison.

Prison and Jails in Our State.

Reform Schools of Our State.

The Story of the Juvenile Court.

The Abuse of Clean Sport.

Political Organizations in Our State.

Present Laws Regarding the Use of Money in Campaigns.

The Right and Wrong Use of Money in Politics.

The Making and Enforcing of Contracts.

Resolved, that the sale of convict-made goods in the open market is undesirable.

The George Junior Republic.

Resolved, that the practice of the Golden Rule in business is profitable.

REFERENCE READINGS

Henderson — Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents, Part IV.

Burch and Patterson — American Social Problems, Chapters 18, 19.

Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 28.

Beard — American City Government, Chapter 6.

Rowe — Society, Chapters 33, 34.

Blackmar and Gillin — Outlines of Sociology, Part V, Chapters 4, 5.

Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 19.

Ellwood — Sociology and Modern Social Problems, Chapter 14.

Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapters 19-22, 27, 28.

Bryce — Modern Democracies, Chapter 69.

Hayes — Introduction to Sociology, pp. 541-550, Chapters 32, 33.

Towne — Social Problems, Chapter 11.

B. The Treatment of the Foreigner

One difficulty we meet in uplifting American standards is that many who live among us do not realize what American standards are. Why are these people here? Who are they? What should we do for them and with them?

60. Why the Foreigner Comes. — For years America has been the Promised Land, the land of opportunity, toward which millions of people from all parts of the world have turned. To many of them it seemed the land of easy money, where everybody was well off. To others, more desirable,

it offered the opportunity to earn a decent living by hard work. To all it was the land of "beginning again." All sought in some form better social and economic conditions.

From the Revolution to 1820 immigrants were so few that no records were kept of them. The first great migration was the result of the potato famine in Ireland. From 1847 to 1854, over a million Irish people came to this country. The failure of the political revolution in Germany in 1848, and economic trouble in that country, sent a large number of immigrants here. The occupation of the West also aided immigration. Not so many immigrants took up farming as we might expect, considering how many of them had lived by that means in Europe, though many Germans, Swedes, and Norwegians did so. But when Americans moved West they left an opportunity for labor in the East which the foreigner was ready to accept.

Political and religious persecution has always driven Europeans to our shores. Many of the first colonists came here for religious reasons. All kinds of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews have at some time found this country much more comfortable for their faith than the place where they were living. The requirement of military service in foreign countries has caused many young men to come here.

In later years the facility of transportation has greatly encouraged immigration. No more is the trip long and dangerous, though still rather uncomfortable in the steerage. Steamship companies, anxious for passengers, have had their agents out working to induce people to come to the New World. It was once a common practice for American employers to hire laborers in large numbers in the "old country" and pay their passage here. This is now forbidden by law.

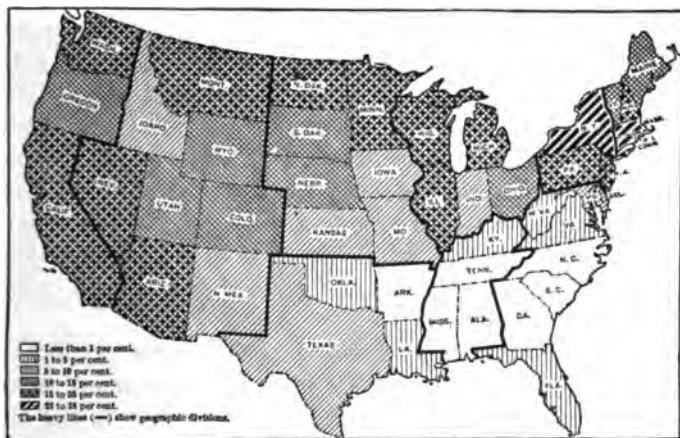
Foreigners living in this country often send glowing reports back home about America. They often pay or help to pay the passage of less fortunate friends here. Frequently a man who has been to America and made money

returns for a visit and immediately his friends want to come and do likewise.

During much of our history America has encouraged immigration, has invited foreigners to come to our shores, has taken pride in her mixed population, has boasted of being a "melting-pot" of the races. But now we hear more often the question, How can we stop them?

How far back do you have to trace your family tree to find immigrants? Why did they come?

61. Types of Immigrants. — Just as the motives for immigration have varied from time to time, so has the type of



Courtesy Bureau of Census.

THE FOREIGN BORN IN THE STATES OF THE UNION.

immigrant changed. The people who came to America prior to 1883 are known as the "old immigration." The ones who came after that time are called the "new immigration." The former was almost entirely from the northwestern part of Europe, from Great Britain, Ireland, Belgium, Switzerland, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The new immigration is from southern and eastern Europe,

from such nations as Italy, Austria, Hungary, Greece, Poland, Russia, Serbia, and Turkey. Before 1883, 95 per cent of all the immigrants came from northwestern Europe. In 1914, only 15 per cent came from that section, while 75 per cent came from southern Europe.

The new immigrant differs greatly from the old. The latter had in general similar habits and customs, the same mode of thought, similar religious and governmental theories, and some of them the same language as Americans. They were comparatively easy to assimilate, because their ideas were not un-American. The new immigrants, on the other hand, differ in all these respects. Many have no idea of the principles of self-government because they come from countries where it has been little practiced. Industrially, too, the old immigrant was more desirable than the new. The old immigrant has given us professional and skilled workers, while the new furnishes for the most part only common laborers. The standard of living among the old immigrants was much higher than among the new and they showed a greater tendency to remain here. A large part of them settled in the Middle West, adopted farming, and thus helped to develop our country; the latest comers crowd into the eastern cities.

The new immigration shows a much greater proportion of illiteracy than the old. There are a great many more men than women in the new immigration, while in the old the men only slightly exceeded the women in number. A great many more of the old immigrants became naturalized than of the new. The percentage of course varies with different sources.

After all we are to some extent all immigrants. Our ancestors were immigrants. The Indians were the original Americans, as far as we know. The "American" of today originally came from all parts of the world. Let us remember this in taking up this problem, lest it seem more serious than perhaps it really is.

What is the percentage of children born of foreign parentage in your class? Write out your family tree back to your great-grandparents, and have the teacher tabulate the totals of the different nationalities represented.

62. A Square Deal for the Foreigner. — The immigration problem is notably one to be considered from the standpoint of the square deal. The foreigner has no right to blame us if America is not the land of milk and honey which he was looking for. But since we let him in, and sometimes urged him to come, he has a right to be treated fairly.

A foreigner who is not a citizen must not expect to have all the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States. In most states he cannot vote. There are often little privileges denied to aliens in some states — such, for example, as keeping a dog or carrying firearms. But the foreigner has a right to expect an opportunity to earn a living, and to be recognized for whatever he is really worth.

Many of us look down upon the immigrant. We want nothing to do with him socially. We do not want him to live next door to us. He is a "mick," a "hunky," a "dago," a "Polack" — the "scum of the earth." And then we find fault with him if he "flocks by himself"! Others take advantage of his ignorance of American ways and cheat him. Even the policeman sometimes practices petty graft at his expense.

The foreigner has a right to expect to have his property protected by our government and to send his children to the public schools. It is only by treating the foreigner fairly and justly that we can expect him in return to do right. We are his teachers. Do we feel a sincere personal interest in him as a human being, or is he simply a "problem"?

Have you seen any examples of unfair treatment of foreigners? If so, do you think they were intentional or thoughtless? How are foreigners looked upon in your community?

Immigrants have supplied work that is essential to all our industries. It has been said that the foreigner mines

seven-eighths of the coal in this country, makes four-fifths of the shoes, prepares nineteen-twentieths of the sugar, does four-fifths of the work in the meat industry, manufactures seven-eighths of the woolen goods and nine-tenths of the cotton, makes half the collars and cuffs and gloves, and tans four-fifths of the leather. It is a real question whether this work would have been done without the foreigner.

In many other ways the foreigner adds to our country. We are a composite nation. We have traits and characteristics of all the peoples of the world, blended and changed a little, but all composing the American. May we say without conceit that Americans are a very unusual people? The heritage of ideals, thoughts, and talents from so many nations has made us wonderfully versatile. Perhaps there is no person so adaptable to any sort of conditions as the typical American.

The foreigner has also brought us a taste and a talent for music and art. America has been so busy getting rich and developing a new country that she has hardly taken time for these things. The musical, poetical, sentimental, sometimes excitable, foreigners may even be needed to make us an all-round people.

Our worst as well as our best records in literacy are found in districts almost wholly American. The children of the alien are often more eager to learn and speak the English language better than the children of the American. They get more than their numerical share of prizes and honors. If you did not know their names, you could not pick out with any assurance the members of a class whose parents came from abroad. And often you could not do so then, for many families adopt names that will conceal their foreign origin. The "old folks" will probably carry to their death the marks of their origin in Italy, Russia, or Greece. We must not expect to do too much with them. But the young folks may become as far as looks and manners are concerned truly American. If they acquire American

ideals along with their American manners, this particular problem is solved.

Do you think the immigrant has spurred Americans to make any more of themselves than they otherwise would have made?

63. A Square Deal for the American. — While it is very important that the American should deal squarely with the foreigner, he also has a right to expect certain things of the immigrant. The foreigner should obey American laws and respect the authority of our government, if we give him protection, education, and opportunity. When the foreigner comes here expecting to be employed in our industries, to earn our money and have his place in our life, he should be willing to give his allegiance to the country — to become an American. It seemed strangely wrong during the Great War that American citizens could be forced to give up good positions and risk their lives in front of German guns, when aliens were getting high wages, safe in our own country.

We also expect the foreigner to adopt our manners, customs, and speech, if he is to be a good American. The foreign sections of cities, the "Little Italies" and the "Chinatowns," result in part from the foreigner's unwillingness to try to improve his ways of living and to adopt our customs. These communities often become slum districts and carry all the menace that goes with the slum.

Should we expect the immigrant to give as much to America as America gives him?

We have the right to ask foreigners to avoid unnecessary overcrowding, to keep clean, to shun disease and crime. When they become voters, they have no business to allow their politics to be influenced by their prejudices and to vote from an alien's viewpoint. They must be Americans, not Germans or Bolsheviks, or else their oath of allegiance to the United States has been a mere form.

Would you advise sending back to Europe all aliens who were still unnaturalized after being in this country ten years?

64. Putting Up the Bars. — If America is a free country, has it any right to keep some people out or should it open its doors to all who wish to come? Surely no consideration should oblige us to admit the anarchists, the immoral, and the diseased, who will play havoc with our people and our institutions. Besides, if we admit by the hundred thousand people whom we cannot assimilate and Americanize, we



IMMIGRANTS NEARING PORT.

This group, composed mostly of Italians, are ready to meet the inspection officers at the immigrant station at Boston.

endanger our whole civilization. Every country has the right under international law to exclude those whom it does not care to receive.

In 1819, the first law relating to immigration was passed, which required the keeping of statistics concerning the number of immigrants. About 1850 the American or "Know-Nothing" party, which disliked Roman Catholics in particular and foreigners in general, bitterly opposed immigration, but nothing more was done until 1882. Then an act was passed which laid a tax of fifty cents on each immigrant and

excluded all convicts, lunatics, idiots, and other persons likely to become a public charge.

In 1907, a thoroughgoing measure was enacted. This made the tax on each immigrant four dollars and excluded the insane, feeble-minded, and epileptic, the contagiously diseased, and anarchists, polygamists, and convicts, except political offenders. In 1916, a literacy test was also imposed, so that no foreigner might be admitted unless he could read in some language or dialect. Immigrants who desire to enter this country are examined at the various immigrant stations and any who do not meet the requirements must be taken back by the same steamship company that brought them over.

The Great War almost wholly stopped European immigration for a few years. With the close of the war, when most of Europe was in such distress financially and otherwise, Congressmen became greatly alarmed, fearing that there would be a general exodus from Europe to America of everybody who could get away. So they enacted a measure, putting immigration from particular countries on a percentage basis. The law of 1924 allows the admission in one year, from any country, of two per cent of the persons born in that country who were in the United States in 1890. The main purpose of the law is to encourage immigration from northern and western Europe, rather than from other countries. The details cannot be given in a few words.

What would you suppose a European statesman would think about immigration? Are immigration laws likely to form a party issue here? Should they?

Very few Americans would say that we should throw open our doors to all who wish to come. We are pretty well agreed that we can assimilate a certain number without much trouble, and that if we do not take in any more than we can Americanize the seriousness of the immigration problem will disappear. If we can only find some way of re-

stricting immigration so that we shall get the best people! One great difficulty is that none of the tests so far proposed determine character, which is after all the most important concern. One thing is sure: as far as possible, our tests and exclusion laws should be applied at the foreign ports before the emigrants are allowed to go on board a vessel. Foreign countries, however, have sometimes objected to even this helpful reform. Perhaps *you* will have to work out the final solution of this big problem rather than the Congressmen of today.

- **65. Making Aliens into Americans.** — After the immigrants have passed the examinations at Ellis Island or somewhere else, where do they go? The census figures of 1910 showed that about three-fourths of the foreigners of this country were living in urban communities. A number of associations have been formed to help the immigrant to find a suitable place to live or to acquaint him with conditions in various parts of the country, so that he may know where to go. In the Bureau of Immigration there is a Division of Information which does the same kind of work. But these agencies have been unable to influence the newcomers greatly. If we could find some way of distributing the immigrants all over the country, assimilation would not be such a difficult problem as it is.

If an American went to live in Paris, would he act differently from the way many foreigners act here, in regard to association with others?

Now what is it to "assimilate" the foreigner? It is to teach him our language, customs, and ideals — to make him one of us in customs, in spirit, and in law. Too often the last feature has come first, and too often some of the others have not come at all.

To become a citizen of the United States, an alien must appear before a state or federal court and declare his intention of doing so. He can take this step when he is eighteen.

Not less than two nor more than seven years later, he may complete the process by again appearing before a court and taking out final papers, but he must be at least twenty-one and have lived here five years or more before this step can be taken. After a married man is naturalized his wife may apply and receive citizenship upon proving that she has



Courtesy Newark Y. M. C. A.

BECOMING CITIZENS.

A class of foreigners had been pursuing studies to qualify them for American citizenship. They are shown here taking the oath of allegiance to the United States.

lived in the country a year. A father's citizenship determines that of any foreign-born children under twenty-one. Formerly if an American woman married a foreigner, she lost her American citizenship. This is no longer true, provided she continues to live here. Foreign married women, too, must now apply for citizenship on their own account, and may do so even if their husbands do not.

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In how many ways can a person become an American citizen? Is the process of acquiring citizenship too complicated? Should every alien be required to be able to read and write English before becoming naturalized?

Which is more likely to promote respect for the United States: easy naturalization or difficult?

Something must be done to make these foreigners real Americans before they are naturalized, if possible. It is estimated that three-fourths of those who have been naturalized in recent years had no real understanding of the meaning of American citizenship or the principles of our government. The public schools are now making heroic efforts to help in this work. Besides the regular schools in which the children of the foreigner are taught side by side with the American children, there are special schools, where English, citizenship, and such subjects are taught. Many hold their sessions at night, and give graduation certificates upon completion of the course. Settlement houses and social workers can render great service in teaching our customs and our ideas about sanitation and living conditions.

One other point we must not overlook. If immigrants live in distinct sections of the community, retaining both their foreign language and their foreign customs, America becomes, to use Roosevelt's words, "a polyglot boarding house." We discovered during the Great War that in several parts of the country even the schools were being carried on in foreign languages. Several states have since passed laws forbidding the use of any language except English in the schools for purposes of instruction. Perhaps we ought to do away with foreign language newspapers. Surely it is much less unreasonable to require in-comers to learn our established language than to expect our newspapers to print foreign language pages in order to give immigrants information about the events of the world.

With the difference in speech removed, how much easier it will be to develop the common patriotism and devotion

to one country and one flag which loyal Americans are so anxious to maintain! The use of one common language is a prime essential to make America intelligent, and to make possible common customs and ideals — the English language, in which our Constitution and laws are written.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Foreign Population of Our Community.
Our Present Immigration Laws.
Ellis Island.
The Process of Naturalization.
Crime and the Foreigner.
Measures for Americanizing the Alien.
Famous Americans of Foreign Birth.
Personal Qualities Contributed to America by Foreigners.
Foreign Ideas and Customs That Need to Be Set Aside.
The Immigrant of Today.
Resolved, that a literacy test for immigrants is desirable.
Plans for Limiting Immigration.
The Immigrants of 1840 to 1860.

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C. The Color Line

The people of whom we have just been speaking are all of the white race, whatever the hue of their minds and souls. If there exist among these such important problems, how great they must be among people of different colors! What is the part these people play in our country's life? What is and what should be our attitude toward them?

66. Why Is There a Negro Problem? — Unlike the foreigner from Europe and Asia, the negro did not come to America for refuge or in order to improve his economic condition. He did not come of his own accord at all. He was captured by fellow Africans in his native country, sold to white men for mere trifles, packed into a ship, and brought to America to be marketed among strangers. Most American negroes for almost two and a half centuries were slaves.

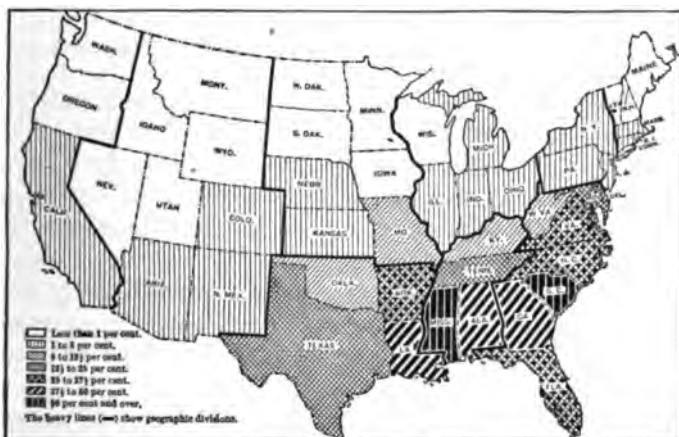
This state of bondage has left marks upon them which are still visible. In the first place, the practice of selling the members of families into different parts of the country broke up homes and gave the negro a very poor conception of family life. Standards of morality necessarily suffered under the circumstances. Their work on the plantation called for nothing but patient plodding. This tended to dull their minds, and make their lives simply a matter of habit. They received no education. They often lived in very poor conditions. Most had no responsibility. They were simply told what to do and punished if they failed to do it. Their clothes, food, and shelter were provided for them. They received no money and consequently knew nothing about handling it. Petty thieving was an inevitable result of the absence of personal property.

The life of the slave was usually, therefore, a life of subjection and ignorance. He was religious, emotional, superstitious, and very simple in his thoughts and his ways. And after being subjected to all these conditions for such a long time, can we wonder at those characteristics today which sometimes unjustly cast reflections on all negroes — for

many negro men and women live as worthily as any white people! It will take longer than fifty years to change what two hundred and fifty years have done.

What would be the negro's condition today if he had never been enslaved? Has not the negro gained a great deal through having been brought to America, even if he came only to be enslaved?

After two and a half centuries of the life we have just described, liberty was suddenly thrust upon the negroes. The Proclamation of Emancipation came as a war measure in



Courtesy Bureau of Census.

NEGRO POPULATION IN THE STATES.

1863. Then the Constitution was amended. The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) abolished slavery as an institution, the Fourteenth (1868) granted the negro citizenship, and the Fifteenth (1870) was intended to guarantee him the right to vote. These measures resulted in giving liberty and citizenship to four million negroes who had neither education nor training. Unprincipled men from the North gained influence over the negroes, and former slaves were given offices in the government of the southern states. These people plunged the South into all sorts of extravagance and mismanagement. The result was a violent re-

action on the part of the whites, who, when they once got into power again, determined to stay there.

So, then, we have our negro problem because white men bought negroes to do work which the white men could not or did not want to do ; because slave life gave the negro small responsibility and little appreciation of morals ; because too much responsibility was thrust upon him suddenly after the Civil War, and his misuse of power enraged his former masters ; and because the white man feels he is by nature superior to people of any other color.

Would gradual emancipation have been better for the negro ?

67. The Black Man's Progress. — The negro population has more than doubled since the time of the Civil War. The 1920 census showed over 10,000,000 negroes in the United States. But the black man is not increasing so rapidly as the white. The birth rate is high but decreasing and the death rate is correspondingly high — twice as high as among the whites. This is due largely to the crowded, filthy conditions under which many negroes live, especially in cities. Infant mortality and the number of deaths from tuberculosis are very high among them.

Some negroes are lazy and shiftless and do not try to improve themselves, yet the race as a whole has made real and notable progress. When set free, the slaves owned hardly any property worth mentioning. Now half a billion dollars' worth is in the name of negroes. Nearly a million farms are operated by them, a quarter or more of which are owned. They are in all professions. Hundreds are lawyers and doctors, and thousands are ministers or teachers. We also find them as drivers, chauffeurs, and servants, janitors in all kinds of public buildings, and porters in trains. Large numbers of them moved North during the Great War to get the high wages then prevailing, but many of these were unsettled, unskilled laborers, whose migration was of little real benefit to themselves or to the country.

At the close of the Civil War, nine-tenths of the negroes were illiterate; now the proportion is less than three-tenths. This figure is bad enough, in all conscience, but it represents marked improvement. Negro schools have often been neglected by the white directors. They have not been properly supervised and are often in very bad condition. Many of the teachers in these schools have completed only the eighth grade themselves.

There are a number of industrial schools for the negroes, where they are taught manual training or domestic science, and are instructed in various trades. They need such schools particularly. One of the best of the schools for negroes is Tuskegee Institute, which was established by Booker T. Washington, perhaps the greatest man of his race in the United States. This school is carried on entirely by negroes. A considerable number of schools for negroes have also been established by church organizations as missionary enterprises, and negro churches have contributed generously to support schools. But education is doubtless the negro's greatest need today.

68. The White Man's Policy. — The southern white people, having known the negroes as slaves, aim still to "keep them in their place." The southerner expects, and receives, from the negro the most marked respect. Separate cars or separate sections in them, commonly known as "Jim Crow cars," and separate hotels, as well as separate schools, are often required by law. The idea works the other way too. A white person may not attend a colored school, nor ride in the street car or coach reserved for the negro. The whole attitude of the southern white people towards the negro is that of a superior race toward an inferior one. They will yield nothing that could at all be interpreted as a step toward social equality. An attack of a negro on a white person therefore seems a worse sin than if two persons of the same race are concerned.

The horrible "mess" of Reconstruction days produced the Ku Klux Klan and other forcible means of establishing white supremacy in politics which embittered many northerners. But peaceful means have proved just as effective. Though the Fifteenth Amendment to the national Constitution forbade the states to deny the vote on account of race or color, southern states found ways to evade this, as by



INSIDE WORK IN A LARGE POST OFFICE.

The clerks are gathering up letters and facing them for the canceling machine. Is there anything in this picture which suggests the part of the country where it was taken?

the so-called "grandfather clause." This was usually drawn up so as to require that voters must meet certain property or educational requirements in order to vote, unless their ancestors were voters in 1866 or thereabouts. This of course prevents all negroes from voting who cannot meet the requirements, while the whites who are poor and ignorant are not excluded. In many southern communities negroes no longer try to vote.

Matters are somewhat different in the North. There are fewer negroes, and many of them are enterprising. They are inclined to show more initiative and to desire to be treated in the same way as white people. The attitude of the northern whites has changed considerably since the Civil War and Reconstruction days. Then they felt sorry for the negroes and wanted to help them. They assisted them to get to the North, and really welcomed them when they came. Now they are tolerant of the negro but they do not feel particularly kindly toward him. In most places the northern negro attends the same schools as the whites, and rides in the same street car. But when negroes are numerous in a community, they have separate churches and social organizations and often separate schools.

We will all, northerners and southerners alike, admit that the negro problem can never be solved by amalgamation, nor by sending the negro to Liberia. The negro is here to stay. The only solution is for each race to develop itself, helping and sympathizing with the other, but not mingling more than is necessary. The salvation of the black race lies in the hands of the negroes themselves, as Booker Washington tried to tell them. They will win respect by deserving it. But at the same time, as it has been aptly remarked, the white man will never solve the negro problem by calling it "the nigger problem."

Give the negro time, help, and a chance. In native ability he may not average as high as the white man, but there is much he will do well. The time may come when we will not look upon the negro as a problem but as an example of the possibilities latent in a downtrodden race to make itself a real asset to a nation.

Northern people are moving into some parts of the South in considerable numbers. Will this movement have any effect upon the race situation or politics in the South?

69. The Red Man in America. — The strange red men whom Columbus found in America he called Indians, be-

cause he had India on his mind. They were a simple, stolid, brave people, living much in the open air and feeling a keen intimacy with Nature. Civilization was not highly developed among them, though the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru had made much progress along some lines.



Courtesy Bureau of Indian Affairs.

THE PASSING OF THE OLD LIFE.

These Indian women represent a type of life which is fast disappearing, but which was once characteristic of a great part of the red men.

tors now are recorded as white when previously they would have been counted as Indians.

Some of these Indians live about the same kind of life that they did when Columbus came. Others, especially such tribes as the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, have made rapid advancement. Some Indians are well-to-do. They contributed on an average \$75 apiece to the Liberty Loans — a better showing than our white cit-

The Iroquois of New York displayed many worthwhile qualities, and if the white man had let them alone they might have developed a federal government all their own.

The numbers of the red men were never large, though there were enough of them to make the early white man worry. To-day, if we can trust the census figures, the Indian population of the United States is stationary. The reckoning for 1920 counted only 336,000, but the unexpected smallness of the numbers is explained in part by the fact that many who have both white and Indian ances-

izens. And the oil which has been found on the lands of the Osage tribe has brought them wealth in such abundance that they have a hard time spending it. As a race they did not develop the possibilities of the land in which they lived, and the harsh law of Progress has turned it over to those who would do more with it.

Are there any traces of the old Indian civilization in your community? What valuable remains has the Indian left us? What theories of his origin do you know?

70. Red Man and White Man. — The Indians regarded the first white men with mild curiosity, but they felt kindly



SOME INDIANS OF TODAY.

How much different are these young fellows from white people of the same age and circumstances of life? These Indians live in southeastern California.

toward them. If the white man had treated the Indian fairly the two races could have become friends, but the white man took advantage of the red man. He exchanged a few trinkets for miles of land. Sometimes he did not even go through the formality of a purchase, but simply took what he wanted. By means of the "fire-water" unknown to

the Indian before the white man came, he corrupted the Indian. Is it any wonder that the Indian came to hate the white man and to want to kill him? Then the white people blamed the Indian and hated him for doing what they had forced him to do.

The Indians stood between the white people and the settlement of the country. The white man needed land, and the Indians roamed over much land but actually occupied little. A thousand white people could prosper where fifty Indians would barely make a living. And so the whites pushed the Indians westward. They broke agreement after agreement made with the Indians. "A century of dishonor" is perhaps not too harsh a term to use in connection with our dealings with them. Petty Indian wars were going on somewhere in the borders of the United States almost all the time for three-fourths of the 19th century. The passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 marks the real beginning of our present Indian policy. We can honestly say now that our government is trying to act justly toward the Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior has the oversight of our relations with them.

A great many of the Indians now live on reservations. These are tracts of land set aside by the government, for the use of the red man. Some are found in every part of the United States, but most of them are west of the Mississippi River. There are 177 reservations in twenty-three states. The Indians live in their own communities there, have their little farms if they want them, and live a peaceful life. Trade between white men and the Indians is supervised and government agents are supposed to look out for the Indians' welfare.

The government maintains schools on the reservations for the Indians; but there are not nearly enough, and some are poorly equipped. The Indian is taught English and is given courses similar to those of the usual elementary and

high schools. Many Indians are very well educated. A number of them go to colleges and universities. Not all the Indians in the country, however, are living on the reservations. A great many Indians own their own farms and some of them are prosperous and up-to-date. Indians are also engaged in trades and professions. All Indians born



Courtesy Bureau of Indian Affairs.

INDIAN BOYS GARDENING.

These boys are cultivating irrigated land at the Sherman School in southern California.

within the limits of the United States are now considered citizens, whether they fully look out for themselves or still continue to be wards of the government, receiving financial support from the treasury.

The white man does not seem to feel the objection to the Indian that he does to the negro or the yellow man. Indians associate on terms of equality with white men in college and in other phases of life, and Indians and whites fre-

quently intermarry. We have had a number of very capable Indians in government positions, as well as several of mixed white and Indian parentage. In the last group is Robert L. Owen, one of our ablest senators, and one of the authors of the Glass-Owen Act, which established the Federal Reserve System.

The problem of the red man is more of the past than of the present. The ultimate result may be amalgamation with the white, but if that does occur it will not be in the immediate future. As for the Indians who show no interest in the white man's clothes or his social habits, and prefer to live about as they always have lived, it is best to let them take their own course. Forcible civilization has many undesirable features.

Name a few prominent Indians. For what have they been noted?

71. The "Yellow Peril." — Some of our newspapers, and some of our self-styled "statesmen" keep insisting that the yellow race has some horrible design on the rest of the world. Their land is now thickly settled and their population rapidly increasing, we are told. They are going to move out into territory now under other flags and occupy it peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must. Their ability to live on a very little and their willingness to work for low wages make it impossible to compete with them industrially. If we are not careful, they will swamp us by their very numbers and industry.

Besides, cry the alarmists, Japan has become a militaristic nation. Her people are good fighters and they know it. When they get the millions of Chinese aroused and armed, they will conquer the Philippines, Hawaii, and anything else they want in the Pacific. We shall have to fight for our Pacific possessions and trade, or else lie down and let them have their way.

Now is there any real basis for such imaginings? No-

body is more peaceful than the Chinaman when you let him alone. The Japanese has always kept his word with us when he has definitely pledged it. Besides, from whom did the yellow people learn their "ways that are dark, and tricks that are vain" if not from the white nations? Perhaps if we exhibit a more Christian spirit in our diplomacy



AN UP-TO-DATE HYDROELECTRIC PLANT.

Was this picture taken in the United States? Far from it, though the machinery was constructed by an American firm. This is in Kyoto, Japan. Many a cotton mill and steel mill could be thus shown, which we might suppose was situated in our own land, except for the dress of the workers. We do the Japanese an injustice if we think of them as barbarians.

we shall find a better attitude displayed toward us. Cheap demagogues on the other side also try to stir up trouble, but "let him that is without sin first cast a stone."

Some of the feeling against the yellow man is caused through prejudice against his yellow skin, and some is caused through jealousy. That may seem strange, but it is not highly flattering to a white man to have a Japanese prosper on a farm on which the white man failed. In order to

prevent the Japanese from getting ahead, the white man chooses the course of retarding him rather than of exerting greater effort himself.

Quite likely ambitions and interests may clash in the Pacific, but why any more than in South America or Africa? Sanity and fair-mindedness ought to keep competition honorable and aboveboard between nations as between individuals. Keep our eyes open — yes! Protect our own business and social life by not allowing another color problem like that of the negro to develop in our own country — certainly! But the missionaries who work in China and Japan speak well of their people. How can we justly suspect everything they do? Perhaps as the great opportunities for manufacturing and mining are developed in the Far East, employment will be found for their congested population which will relieve them from any desire for territorial expansion across the Pacific. At least, let us so conduct ourselves that we give them no excuse for anything like an international race riot.

72. The Chinaman among Us. — Until nearly the middle of the 19th century there were practically no Chinese in this country. Then the Opium War in China, which caused a great increase in Chinese taxes, resulted in the emigration of many Chinese. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 attracted thousands of these people to our shores. Today there are over 60,000 Chinese in this country, a large majority of whom are in the Far West, but the number is decreasing.

Their occupations are varied. In 1909, 3000 were employed in salmon canneries. Many thousands more do various kinds of unskilled labor. Others keep small merchant houses and shops, laundries, and the like. In this latter capacity they are best known in the East. In fact it is hard for an easterner to understand why there is so much worry about them. Those whom he knows are in-

dustrious, mind their own business, and make no trouble for any one else.

The Chinaman brings his religion and many peculiar habits with him to this country. These in part make some Americans distrust him as they do. Wild stories of the evil of his vicious practices and "opium dens" have been extensively circulated for commercial and other reasons, regardless of the fact that people do not have to go near those places if they do not want to do so. But the worst grievance against him has been the low wages he will accept. Because his requirements in the way of living conditions are so few, a rate of pay looks good to him which no white man could decently live on. The Chinese who first came to this country were welcomed. They did the ordinary labor while the early Californians went out to look for gold. But when gold-hunting turned out to be an undependable vocation, men had to settle down to something more substantial. Then suddenly the discovery was made that in doing ordinary labor the American could not compete with the Chinese. Labor agitators raised the cry, "The Chinese must go," and mobs sometimes made life unpleasant for the Chinese.

But our first treaties with China required us to give the Chinese the same treatment that we gave to other nations. At length another treaty was made, which authorized us to "regulate" the immigration of Chinese laborers. We proceeded then to pass in 1882 the first Chinese Exclusion Act, which regulated such immigration by keeping it out altogether. This act has since been renewed and the policy of exclusion is definitely established. A few Chinese may be smuggled in from Mexico, but the number is not great enough to be alarming.

Are we entirely justified in our attitude toward the Chinese? Should we distrust a man because his actions seem queer?

73. The Japanese among Us. — Now it is the Japanese who perplex us here most. Until after the Chinese Ex-

clusion Act there were practically no Japanese in the United States. In fact, until 1898, there were not more than 2000 here. The census of 1920 recorded 111,025 Japanese, but California declared that the census-takers did not find them all. Most of the early Japanese worked in the railroads and other places as unskilled laborers. They were used to break strikes, and for this reason the labor unions do not like them. They now do a great deal of the meat- and fish-packing. Some serve as domestics and others keep restaurants and shops. They work for low wages, and are easy to engage. They are dependable, have a remarkable ability for learning American customs, and are great imitators. About 3000 Japanese come here every year to study. They are very enterprising and ambitious, and are respected in our colleges and universities by the Americans with whom they come in contact.

The problem of the yellow man is peculiarly a western one — we could almost say California's, for the great majority of the Chinese and Japanese are in California. The three coast states, California, Washington, and Oregon, contain more than four-fifths of all in the country.

It is said that Japanese laborers take jobs away from white laborers and that their lodgings are filthy; but the chief objection now is to the buying of land by the Japanese. They are naturally energetic and ambitious, and set up flourishing farms. The people of California, afraid lest all the good gardening land become occupied entirely by yellow people, have passed state laws forbidding any alien to hold land who could not acquire citizenship. Since neither Chinese nor Japanese may become naturalized they can never hold land. Their children born in this country are United States citizens, however, and the Japanese have evaded these laws by buying land in their children's names or renting it for long periods. Sometimes they formed corporations, for there was no law forbidding a corporation to hold lands. California's latest effort is to prevent the renting

of land by Japanese for any longer period than three years. Californians sincerely feel disturbed about the situation. Some of them, however, seem to forget that they are in the United States, for they have urged the passage of state laws which would be wholly contrary to our agreements with Japan.

Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson preferred to enter into "gentlemen's agreements" between the two governments rather than to make treaties, because of the trouble they would have had in getting the Senate to ratify treaties. Each country agreed to respect the territorial possessions of the other and to refrain from granting passports to laborers to go to the territory of the other. The "four-power" treaty made at the Washington Conference of 1921-1922 aimed at a further assurance of the safety of each country's possessions. Serious ill feeling was aroused in Japan, manifested by meetings of protest and sharp criticisms, when in 1924, Congress abandoned the "gentlemen's agreement" policy, and excluded by law all Japanese laborers.

74. The White Man's Burden.—Somehow it seems as if the responsibility for world advancement rests mainly on the white man. No other people seem to have equal capacity to rule or ability to advance. The Japanese have made wonderful progress in much less than a century, but it is a little too early to determine whether this is due to anything more than a remarkable ability to imitate the accomplishments of the white race. Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden," presents a profound truth. Often the weaker race fails to appreciate what the stronger does for it; but, after all, the world is not likely to be any better than the white races make it, and therefore in a peculiar degree the white man should be careful to set an example which will neither be misunderstood nor lead others astray. Too many times the white man has cared only to exploit weaker peoples—to get rich out of their labor or the resources of their country, regardless of the effect upon them.

Race riots and lynchings are a disgrace to everybody who takes part in them. The latter are usually inflicted upon scoundrels whose crime would be punished by the regular process of law. What gain has there been, therefore, when a man is lynched who would have been punished anyway, even if the mob is sure it has the right man? And if white



Underwood & Underwood.

KEEPING THE PEACE DURING RACE TROUBLE.

These troopers have their machine guns placed so as to command the streets where trouble may occur. This picture was taken in Knoxville, Tennessee.

men who make and enforce the law so readily ignore it, what lesson can the negro learn in the way of respect for it?

The red man too is distinctly a weaker brother considered as a race. Plain common honesty is one of the things a white man must display toward him, as well as watchful interest and aid that will raise him to the white man's civilization as fast as he is ready for it. It is little enough to give the Indian a fair deal on what he has left of the great country that was once his.

In fairness to our own people we must recognize that other white nations such as Australia and Canada feel toward the Japanese and Chinese the same as many of us do. And they have an even more profound dislike of the Hindoo, who comes to them somewhat more readily because the British flag floats over them all. A white man's country and a yellow man's country can be separate and distinct and each race can stay in its own field without its being necessary for either to hold suspicion or ill-will toward the other. Friendliness and a desire to understand are surely a part of the white man's burden toward the yellow race. One fact that we often do not realize is that Japan and to some extent the other leading Asiatic peoples are no longer uncivilized. Their industries are as varied and in some cases as advanced as our own. They deeply resent being looked upon as inferiors.

We have another little burden of color that is peculiarly our own — the burden of the brown man, the Filipino. After all, it is not so much of a burden because the Filipino no longer gives us a great deal of trouble. He is able to look out for himself in most respects. Perhaps we feel that he is not so grateful as he should be for what we have done for him. That has been the experience of Great Britain over and over again with her colonies. But at least we can approach the whole question with the thought of doing what is best for the Filipino and making our own interests a secondary consideration.

Perhaps the "square deal" sums up all the elements in the problems of races and color. If the white man can make the weaker races feel that he does not wish to plunder them but to help them, and will take his reward in part in the consciousness of having served civilization, he will give the people of other colors no just cause for discontent.

"By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall weigh your Gods and you."

Who generally start race riots, white people or negroes? Is lynching ever excusable? What kinds of people might be glad to have a war between a nation of the white race and a nation of the yellow race? Have nations of the other races than the white any just reason today to suspect the white man's intentions toward them? Compare England and America in respect to their attitude toward other races.

∴ To establish right relations among men, we must find means both to restrain wrong-doers and to encourage the erring to do better. We must maintain high ideals in government and business. We must give the foreigner a fair chance, while insisting that he become an American if he is to live in America. White people must manifest a desire to help and to understand people of other colors, instead of assuming a disagreeable attitude of superiority.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Negroes' Life in Slavery Days.
 The States in Reconstruction Times.
 The Indian Reservation of Today.
 Indians Who Have Become Famous.
 The Process of Making an Indian a Citizen.
 Our Treaty Relations with China.
 Our Treaty Relations with Japan.
 The Rise of Japan.
 The Land Problem in California.
 England's Dealings with Other Races.
 The Life of Booker T. Washington.
 The Negro in Industry.
 The Negro and the Ballot.

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VI. MAKING RELIGION EFFECTIVE

So far we have spoken of elevating our standards mainly by negative means, which promote right by preventing wrong. A good way, indeed, many times, since most acts are either right or wrong, and by preventing one we achieve the other! There are, however, positive forces for good — those that work by teaching us specifically to do right, such as religion, the home, and the school. Mere absence from badness is a poor type of existence, after all. First let us study religion as a factor in our nation's life, and its relation to the community and the government.

75. What Is Religion For? — “Man,” it has been said, “is incurably religious.” We find individuals, of course, in whose lives religion seems to play no part, but we never find such people making up an entire group. But what is religion? It is man's idea of his relation to a Power or Being higher than himself. It differs therefore from morality, which deals primarily with the way we act in our dealings with others, and with our compliance with the accepted standards of right and wrong. Religion stimulates morality but it is more than morality.

The religion of primitive people consisted mostly in propitiating a higher being. They believed that mountains, trees, animals, and other natural things had spirits, either good or evil. In order to ward off evil spirits, they practiced various forms of magic. Some animals were sacred because they were thought to be the habitation of spirits.

Such a religion was chiefly one of superstition and fear. Some believed that by tearing their flesh, or holding an arm in one position till it became useless, they could please the higher powers. But such ideas no longer appeal to us. Love and faith have entered into religion, and many ancient customs are now considered cruel and barbarous. Perhaps

religion is easier now, but it is also more logical and reasonable. We look upon God as a Father, not simply as a cruel Supreme Power.

Would it be more natural for primitive people than for highly civilized people to believe in demons, bloody sacrifices, and a religion of fear? Does an easy religion indicate laxity in morals or decline in courage? Why do some people worship idols?

- Many will say that the prime duty of churches should
- ✓ be to teach or spread religious doctrine, to try to explain God and His ways to those who do not understand them and to develop the right attitude toward Him. Many a
 - ✓ church has at times seemed to make that the sole object of its religious teaching. We all expect churches to teach the principles of ethics and morality, to instill in the minds of their followers a desire for the right. Yet should a man's
 - ✓ thought of religion be simply to save himself from hell? Jesus did not so teach in the wonderful parable of the good Samaritan. Neither did the Hebrew prophet who asked, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?"
 - ✓ And so churches today find deep inspiration in the social motive. They seek to help both individuals and communities. They teach the square deal and plain honesty in business, politics, and daily life. They strive to care for the sick and the unfortunate, to make living happy here as well as hereafter, to give men enlightenment as well as to utter the command for obedience. No phase of our life is beyond their refreshing touch. In short, they teach not only "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God" but also "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." For, after all, as Ruskin says, "The true church is where one hand meets another helpfully."

Can a person be "converted" spiritually and still have no interest in the welfare of his fellow-men? What does "conversion" mean as a term in religion?

76. Religion in American Life. — Perhaps we are not the most religious nation in the world, but religion has played an extremely important part in our history. In the first place we owe a large part of our settlement to those who came here for religious freedom in the 17th century. It was in this country that absolute freedom of worship was first established, and today there is no restriction placed upon any religion as a religion. This desire for religious freedom had a great share in bringing us political freedom. Most of our great men have been deeply religious at heart.

There are those today who bewail the passing of "the good old days" and the present age of low thinking and acting. "The good old days" when every gentleman was a drinker and the lower social class often drunkards! When it was not considered out of place for a church to raise money by lotteries! In fact, one of the principal causes of this "immorality" now is that standards of right have been raised and wrong-doing is more quickly noticed. More things are recognized as evils. Would any one claim that prohibition could have been achieved in 1830 or 1880? In all the reforms that have been wrought religion has had a part.

77. Faiths and Sects in America. — In the United States, as elsewhere, there are more religious sects than religious beliefs. We have not very many separate systems of religion, but within one faith there may be many different divisions and sects.

During the colonial period, most of those who came to the English colonies of the New World belonged to some variety of Protestants, except in the colony of Maryland, founded by the Catholic Lord Baltimore. But the great wave of immigration during the middle of the 19th century brought many Catholics, and they now constitute a very important element of our people. The more recent immigrants have included a considerable number of Greek Catholics and Jews. New York City, with nearly one-third of its people

Jewish, is now the greatest center of Jewish population in the world.

The existence of separate Protestant denominations is often due chiefly to difference of opinion about church organization or details of form and ceremony. They are more friendly



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A statue of Roger Williams in Providence, Rhode Island, the city which he established.

toward one another than formerly, and in many matters constantly coöperate. Some of the differences are very slight. For instance, the United Presbyterians sing only psalms in their church services, while the Presbyterians sing hymns. A difference in the method of serving communion, or a matter of standing or kneeling at confirmation, may mark the distinction between other sects. Baptists and Congregationalists have a very democratic system of church government, while some other denominations prefer a representative system, with central bodies possessing more or less authority over local

churches, and a uniform creed or "confession of faith." Baptists believe in baptism by immersion only, while many sects will baptize in whatever way the applicant desires. Many a member of a Protestant church, especially of the younger generation, cannot tell the difference between his

own church and others, because church membership or attendance often depends simply upon habit or convenience.

Among the distinguishing features of the Roman Catholic church are its recognition of the Pope as the spiritual head of the church on earth, and its belief in confession and the "real presence" in communion. Their Bible is not so different from that used by the Protestants as many of both sects believe. It is simply based on a different translation from the original, and it contains some books which do not appear in the versions used in the Protestant churches.

The Jewish faith does not accept the divinity of Christ, and continues many of the ancient customs found in the Old Testament. There are divisions of Jews as well as of other faiths, the principal ones being the Orthodox and the Reformed. The former adhere more closely than the latter to ceremonies laid down in the Old Testament.

So there is a wide variety of religious denominations in this country — and we have mentioned only a few even of those most widely known. But whatever the faith and whatever the sect, the motive of all religious institutions is to raise the standards of the community and the individual, and to get men right with their Creator.

What are the specific, distinguishing forms, doctrines, or practices of your own denomination?

78. "A Free Church in a Free State." — When we use the word "state" in this connection, we mean any political body — city, state, or nation. The ideal relation between the church and such a body, most of us believe, is "a free church within a free state." Since the teachings of the church deal so much with our relation to the Supreme Being, the state has no right to interfere in such matters. The state forces everybody to go to school and spends millions of dollars on their education because it considers their enlightenment important enough to warrant compulsion. Our spiritual life is also vitally important, but compulsion

in matters of conscience is impossible. About all we can wisely do is to encourage all religious organizations by exempting from taxation as much of their property as is used for religious purposes.

In ancient times, the state and religion were inseparable. Religion and the family, the clan, the tribe, and finally the nation, went hand in hand. A person was born to his religion just as he was to his nationality. In some countries the priests were the rulers; in others they were the real power without official name. Even in England the king is still the official head of the state church. But after individuals and families had begun to insist upon the right to think for themselves in matters of religion, a great change took place in the relations of the church and the government.

First *toleration* was granted. While the people were required to support a state church they could worship as they wished. But even this concession some "dissenters" did not receive. The Maryland colony was notable for admitting freely all Christians, and Roger Williams, the founder of Providence, preached complete "soul liberty." Many countries still have their state church, but among the most advanced nations toleration is accorded to every one.

Our national Constitution says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." It also forbids the requiring of a religious test for federal office holders. Our state constitutions contain similar provisions. Though we cannot truly deny that a candidate's religious opinions are sometimes considered in politics, we are committed to the principle of *religious freedom* — complete separation of church and state.

Would it be wise for the state to compel every individual to attend *some* church?

79. Religion in the Schools. — Instruction in religion and morals is necessary if our country is to be sound and good; for even if man is "incurably religious," he does not

always pick up his religion and manners in the way and time that will do the most good. There are undoubtedly many children who do not attend any Sunday school nor receive any religious instruction at home. If they are not instructed at school, they will receive no instruction at all.

But how to give religious instruction in the schools is a difficult problem. In the public schools are found persons of all faiths and sects, whose beliefs are such that no compromise concerning some of them could be made. Are the beliefs of one sect to be forced upon the others as well? Not in the United States. In some states, the law requires the reading of a certain number of verses from the Bible, usually eight or ten, every morning. But a few states hold that the Bible is a sectarian book and should not be read in the schools. Some people urge that definite moral and ethical instruction could be given in the schools without reference to the Bible. Indeed, the school that pretends to do anything more than to teach books cannot satisfy our ideals unless it teaches and insists upon sound principles of conduct. Others think that religion and morality are inseparable. Some assert, indeed, that this is a Christian nation and we have a right to teach the fundamental doctrines of Christianity even though we cannot force a pupil to accept such teachings.

The Gary plan of religious instruction has been adopted in some places. This idea is to set aside a certain portion of the regular school course for ministers and priests to give religious instruction to those of their own denominations. We may wonder, however, whether this plan may unnecessarily call attention to religious differences, and thereby undo some of the unifying effects of the public schools.

To provide, along with usual school subjects, the religious instruction which they believe to be essential, the Roman Catholic church and a few others have well-organized systems of parochial schools. They are supported entirely by the church, and receive no state aid. The state exercises no

control over such schools, or indeed, over any private schools, beyond assuring itself that the instruction given there is of sufficiently high grade. Not many denominations, however, are able to undertake such a system of education.

Surely it ought to be possible to agree upon a code of ethics that everybody would accept and that could be taught in public schools without hurting anybody's feelings. But when it comes to teaching religious doctrines, it looks as if the Sunday school or other special agencies of the respective denominations would have to be the means employed. If these creedal teachings are as vital as many churchmen believe, surely the churches can find some way to impress them upon parents and children.

What would you think of a plan to have all the churches maintain their own schools where children may be educated and for the state to pay them the cost of giving such education?

Are Sunday schools doing more, or less, effective work than formerly? What elements are necessary to a successful Sunday school?

80. Religion in the Laws.—A much disputed question which comes up in connection with a discussion of religion is that of legislation concerning the observance of Sunday. Laws and practices in this point differ widely throughout this country. Some communities require a strict observance of Sunday and do not permit any commercial organizations to do business on this day. Others have "wide-open" Sundays, on which all activities go on just as they do during the week unless individuals on their own account observe the day differently. Still others allow amusements to be carried on, but do not allow stores or industries to do business.

Sunday laws, along with others affecting personal conduct, have been dubbed "blue laws." There are several explanations given for the name. One is that in the colonial days, when communities were very strict concerning the observance of Sunday, the code of laws was published in pamphlet form and bound in blue. Reverend Samuel Peters, a Tory minister driven from New Haven

during the Revolution, took a kind of humorous revenge on the town by describing the laws it enacted, and making them appear so extreme as to be ridiculous. Many people believed everything he wrote about them, and formed an unjust opinion as to their unreasonableness.

Men interested in commercialized amusement appeal by various means to the prejudices, the selfishness, and the humor of the public in order to swing opinion against the "blue laws." But really the ministers and clergymen are not selfish in their opposition to an open Sunday. Sunday is the one big day for most churches, while all other activities have six days. Those who oppose the Sunday opening of business and amusements truly believe it would be detrimental to the community. One day in the week different from the rest is good for men physiologically, mentally, and socially. The regulations of the Old Testament were often based on sound principles of physiology and psychology, even though those sciences had not been invented when those laws were laid down. A nation which takes no rest will wear itself out. The state is within its rights if it seeks to make its people observe such a day for this reason, and if it selects as this day the one which a large number of its citizens habitually use for worship. After all, is it not a confession of mental emptiness to insist that Sunday is a wearisome day unless we can go to the movies?

81. The Church Reaching Out to Humanity. — The services of a church are not confined to the community in which it is located. They reach out to all parts of the country and of the world. Both home and foreign missionary work play a large part in the interests of many churches, and several denominations spend millions of dollars a year in its support. Home missionary work may take the form of schools for both secular and religious education among Indians, negroes, "poor whites," and other needy people, homes for orphans, hospitals, and other institutions, besides the actual work of religious teaching and preaching.

The foreign field is larger and needs peculiar types of service. A church often does not begin work in a foreign district by formal worship and preaching. It may first send a medical missionary into the field. By looking after the physical needs of the people, he gains their confidence and interest. Then of course he loses no opportunity to bring in the religious side of his work, although his chief duty is



AN OLD NEW ENGLAND CHURCH.

The Congregational Church, South Hingham, Massachusetts. Churches like these were often used as places to hold town meetings, but too often they were not open except on Sundays and special occasions.

to minister to them as a physician. Following him come teachers. Many churches maintain schools where missionaries teach the usual subjects and preach the doctrines of their faith as well. Nowhere except in the so-called Christian countries or in places where their workers have gone, do we find such institutions as hospitals, orphan asylums, and homes for the aged. The wide-awake Japanese has discovered this fact, and is now undertaking this work in the name of Buddha. He has borrowed Christian hymn-

tunes and has even patterned Buddhist Sunday schools after Christian schools.

If the Chinese are contented with Buddha or Confucius, why bother them with any other religion? What do you think of the man who says he will give nothing to missionary causes until the churches clean things up at home?

Other agencies besides the churches are engaged in social and religious uplift. They are fundamentally religious organizations, but they may not advertise this phase of their work as much as other phases. Their aim is to attract people by other means, and without using compulsion, gradually to promote religious feeling among them. Such organizations are the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Knights of Columbus, and the Y.M.H.A. They provide the means for indoor and outdoor recreation and for educational and social improvement, for both old and young. These organizations thus may be helpful physically, mentally, and morally.

Other enterprises with somewhat similar motives but employing different methods are the Salvation Army, whose activities are distinctively "evangelistic" and charitable, and various homes and institutions which take care of ex-convicts and help them to find employment. Settlement houses, also, may be conducted by people who receive support from a certain church or society.

Do the Y.M.C.A. and similar agencies overemphasize the amusement side of their work? How much do they offer in the way of a distinctly religious appeal?

82. What a Church May Do for a Community.—A few churches have, during the growth of our large cities, remained in sections which have become unattractive to live in. These churches do a wonderful work along lines that are called "institutional." They may maintain kindergartens, employment bureaus, lodging houses, vacation schools, dispensaries, boys' and girls' clubs, gymnasiums and swimming pools, and offer to every one all kinds of social opportunities that will help them in their daily living.

Every church can make its influence felt in any community situations where right and wrong are clearly aligned. ✓ A community with churches is always more desirable than one without. We see this fact clearly in the drunkenness, the lawlessness, and the immorality of frontier communities before the building of churches. It is usually unwise for a church or its pastor to be active in purely partisan politics. But when a plain case of law-violation has been brought to light, when notoriously evil influences seek to control a community, not only can a church lend its approval to movements for reform, but even take the lead in bringing the matter before the attention of the public. And it ought to make right living seem so attractive and necessary to its members that they would naturally be active in any call to serve their community.

Mention some questions of public interest on which church members might sincerely disagree. Mention some in which there should be no doubt of a church's attitude. Do any churches in your neighborhood do institutional work? If so, of what kind?

One of the most serious problems connected with religious ✓ activities is that of the rural church. Some may say it has even a greater work to perform than the church in the city, because institutions capable of rendering social service are so much fewer than in large communities. Some of this work, as we have said, should be taken up by the schools, but much of it belongs to the country church. Too often it has confined itself to matters of creed and form, failing to realize its opportunity to promote right living and prevent wrong-doing by satisfying the need for social activities, especially among the young people.

One of the principal faults to be found with the churches in the rural districts is that they are too numerous. In a community which could properly maintain one or perhaps two churches we find five or six. Not one has a large congregation or shows much interest in missionary enterprises, social work, or community activities. Each holds tena-

ciously to petty differences which are really only details, and forgets that fundamentally it is attempting the same work as its neighbors.

In some districts, however, the churches have "federated," and usually the plan has worked very well. In other cases one or two denominations have withdrawn to other fields. The people have found that they can worship without serious conflict of opinion, and that one strong church means more to everybody than three or four puny churches. It can pay the pastor a living salary and provide those interests which for its boys and girls and its men and women make all the difference between contentment and progress, and do away with the dissatisfaction due to isolation, and that "nothing to do" condition which leads to immorality and crime.

Describe any country churches with which you are acquainted. Is great wealth necessary to prosperous church life?

∴ Religion therefore renders a double service. It offers the opportunity for men to worship and to express and develop their spiritual life. It encourages in all the interests that help to raise human society to a higher level. Right-minded citizens should promote it, even though the State, as such, may not do so. No matter what its creed or ceremonies, every church teaches morality and right living. "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

SPECIAL STUDIES

Religion as a Factor in the Settlement of America.

The Relation of Church and State.

State Churches.

The Ideal City Church.

The Ideal Rural Church.

The Work of a Foreign Missionary.

The Y.M.C.A.

The Knights of Columbus.

State Legislation Regarding the Bible in the School.

Sunday Laws and Customs in Our State.

The Problem of Giving Religious Instruction.

The Origin and Development of the Sunday School.

172 Problems of American Democracy

The Methods Used by Religious Denominations to Impart Religious Teachings.

The Effect of the World War on Religion and Religious Denominations.

Great Religious Teachers of Asia.

Primitive Forms of Religion.

Recent Movements for Separation of Church and State.

The Teaching of Ethics and Morals in the Schools.

How Churches of Our Community Could Be More Useful.

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VII. GIVING THE HOME ITS PROPER PLACE

The church is an institution which touches the lives of many millions of people, but after all it is a voluntary association, at least in this country. Most of us spend a large part of our lives by necessity in the home, and those who cannot do so wish they could. What are the conditions that make it either easy or difficult for the home to do its part in uplifting American life? What problems particularly concern home relationship?

83. What the Home Does for the Nation. — The home is the first community we know. In it we receive our first and usually our most lasting impressions. Out of the home have grown the other social institutions — the community, the church, and the state. The family is the primary social group — the earliest social unit. Here the individual gains the moral ideals which he may carry with him all his life. He has here his first lessons in obedience, respect, self-restraint, loyalty, and charity, and the extent to which he is taught these things makes or mars his character and to that degree affects his community. The family is an economic unit, too. One or more of its members earn the means of living for all, and each member does or ought to feel a responsibility for the success or failure of the rest.

The home, then, has an important place in the community. Too few people, however, realize fully its value and importance. They regard it as a place to eat and sleep, and lose sight of the fact that while it is a life in itself, it furnishes the preparation for life in a broader field outside. Good citizenship, like charity, it has been said, begins at home. Our homes embody the very life, character, and progress of the nation.

Are there any important phases of your life which were not suggested or influenced by the home? Has your attitude toward any

of the great interests of life been changed by influences outside the home?

Family relationships existed among the earliest people, although in a very different form from those to which we are accustomed. Marriage was not permanent, and both parties were free to discontinue it at any time. The children belonged to the mother and bore her name. But when conflicts with other families or tribes occurred, the man showed his physical superiority, and became more important. The wife and children now took the father's name, he became the head of the family, and the patriarchal family began. The arrangement led to polygamy, which is practiced to this day in some places, and it was fortified by the ancestor worship which formerly was common.

But very gradually and slowly, the rights of women and children came to be recognized and protected by law. The monogamic marriage — one man and one woman — was instituted, and prevails in most parts of the world today. The woman has risen from a place of slavery or of drudgery in the family to a position of highest respect and esteem. Women have in many countries acquired full political equality with men and most of the legal rights which men enjoy.

To what influences do you credit the improved status of women? Are women or men more responsible for the character of the home itself? What are some of the virtues that can be developed best or solely in the home?

84. Homes of Yesterday and Today. — Many homes of today differ greatly from the homes of a century ago. The home of those days was the unit of social life and the center of activity. The family worked and played together. On a farm the sons were their father's workmen and helpers, doing all kinds of labor, especially outdoors. The mother and daughters prepared the food, perhaps made the clothes for the whole family, and kept house without many of the conveniences to which we are accustomed.

The home was also the center of recreation. We may think that the simple pleasures of years ago were rather inadequate — checkers and parcheesi seem rather mild amusement for the blasé youth of today — but then every phase of life was simple, and an elaborate entertainment was not thought necessary for enjoyment. Members of a family enjoyed each other's company, and spent their



CHILDISH DREAMS.

Compare this kind of home with that shown on page 178. Do you suppose the girl appreciates what she is getting?

evenings together in the home. In the best homes, too, family worship was conducted and the children were given religious instruction.

It would be unfair, of course, to give the impression that nobody did wrong in the "days of old." Manners, life, and language were often crude and coarse, especially on the frontier, and religion was an experience acquired at noisy revival meetings conducted by traveling preachers, some of whom were men of power, mighty to save communities as well as individual sinners, while others were little better than mountebanks. But even as the country progressed, and new inventions were made, and there was greater con-

tact between people, the home did not lose the interest of its members.

But how is it today? It often seems as if every member of the modern family has his own interests which are entirely apart from those of the rest of the family. The father may have his business and his club which take him away from home all day and sometimes at night, and occupy part of his time and thoughts at home. If a man is not an employer but holds a plain ordinary "job," perhaps his work tires him so that he takes little interest in home after he gets there.

The mother in the household has her own particular activities. Perhaps she is interested in clubs and societies, in social activities that keep her away from home, in entertaining and being entertained. If she is not the "social" type of wife, she may be engaged in some employment besides that of keeping house. While the wife's industrial activities undoubtedly help to fill the family purse, they cannot fail to be harmful to the home, for there is no one to take care of it or stay in it enough to love it.

Among the children modern distractions are perhaps most noticeable. Of course, the younger children spend most of their time at home. But the older children, all during their 'teens, have a wide range of outside interests. High school classes, clubs and athletics, dances, theaters, and moving picture shows keep them constantly on the move.

In the face of such tendencies, what are the parents doing? They cannot say much if they indulge in that kind of thing themselves. Others seem often to lose hold of their children completely and not to know or care what they do or where they go — or else cannot restrain them when they attempt to do so. They are not in any sense their children's companions.

What are some of the chief obligations of parents to children? of children to parents?

What in your community are the worst foes of the home?

Possibly some of this outside attraction cannot be helped. But it is surely a lamentable state of affairs when a mother no longer finds her greatest happiness as well as her most sacred duty in caring for her home and her children; when a father no longer comes thankfully home to a cheerful wife, a good dinner, a comfortable chair, and a happy family group; when children get all their education, recreation, and religion outside the home. Not all homes, by any means, are so bad as that, but there is a tendency in that direction. If this condition is to prevail, we might as well house our people in huge dormitories and feed them in great dining-rooms.

Do families go to the movies as a group? to church? Has the "family pew" disappeared?

85. Places to Live In. — People often figuratively pat themselves on the back and say that now they have real homes — no more drudgery for mother, no hated tasks for the children, but solid comfort for them and for father. Electric cleaners, washers, ironers, and dishwashers are wonderful inventions and they have made life easier for thousands of tired women. Yet if there is too little to do at home, there is little to necessitate one's staying in it. And if pleasures are seldom found there, it has no attraction for us.

Many dwelling-places are not homes. They are houses. We should not observe without alarm the substitution of the apartment, the duplex, and the hotel for the one-family dwelling. People used to love their home. Perhaps they built it, planned its furnishing, were married in it, planted the gardens about it. It was the birthplace of their children, and the scene of the great events of their life. To give it up was like losing a very dear friend.

But too often people do not care for their house as a home. As a place to live, it may interest them. But they flit from place to place very frequently, and do not stay in

a house long enough to give it personality, a thing which the old home possessed in the highest degree. Instead of feeling any sorrow at leaving a home, they wonder how long they will have to live in the next house. There must be something missing in home life in an apartment. Surely one could not love deeply a four-story brick structure of



HOMELESS WAIFS AT AN ORPHANAGE.

What would not these children give for a home like that on page 175?

almost maddening uniformity, filled with the activity of strange families. And in hotel life there can be no home spirit at all.

There is little need to mention tenements in this connection. We all know their evils. In them real family life is almost impossible. Privacy is unknown, families are thrown together, and too many people rub shoulders in the same building. Work takes most of the family away during the day, the streets attract the children and the cheap amusements the young people. No culture is acquired, for no need of it is felt, and the virtues and accomplishments

which should be taught are entirely missing. The 1920 census found 3,654,000 more families than dwellings. This disparity has been steadily increasing, and were it not that the size of the average family has gone down from nearly 6 a century ago to 4.3 in 1920, it would signify a crowded condition that would be utterly intolerable.

The renter cannot possibly feel the same interest in a house as the owner. The steady decrease in the proportion of house-owners among the heads of families is a disturbing fact. More than 90 per cent of the people of Manhattan live in rented dwellings. In the whole country only 11,000,000 out of the 24,000,000 families own their homes. More than half the American people depend on others to furnish them a place to live! No wonder rents are high.

The high cost of building of course tends to reduce the number of separate homes. To relieve the situation it has been proposed that the community should build houses in groups and thus cut down the expense as much as possible. Then it could sell or rent the houses to citizens at reasonable rates. Sometimes public-spirited citizens can be found who will finance such projects.

How did the Great War affect housing? Is it wise or practicable to make laws in regard to rents?

86. The Ideal Home. — The ideal dwelling need not be large and elaborate, but must afford comfort and health for its occupants. Its furnishings should be neat and exhibit good taste. It should have at least a small amount of ground around it to provide a place in the open air for play and recreation. It should be situated away from the dirt, noise, and confusion of factories and railroads.

But far more important than the street address is the relation among the members of the family. There ought to be a recognized source of authority — authority, however, not despotism. The parents, while preserving the respect and obedience of the children, ought to be their best chums

and confidants. The children ought to make the home rather than the street corner the place to meet their friends. An ideal home provides enough social interest to hold the children and parents there a large part of the time. If one good home is to lead to another, the children in the first must understand the difference between right and wrong, and appreciate the responsibilities they must at some time accept.

To assure good order in the home life there must be practical, sensible management. Few homes can be entirely happy when the wife or children are the breadwinners. A budget system to handle household finances usually makes the home machinery work more smoothly. Each member of the family should have his certain part of the work to do and feel a responsibility of his own, so that for each one it may seem *his* home, and not a boarding house or a charitable institution.

Does your ideal of a home differ from the one here described? Can a home lacking any or all of these conditions be happy?

87. Broken Homes. — It has been said that Americans are the "most married" people, but they are also the most divorced. Divorces are increasing enormously, three times as fast as the population. In 1896, only 43,000 people in the United States secured divorces. In 1924, the number was 170,000. In the United States there is one divorce to every seven marriages, in France one to every thirty, in Germany one to every forty-four and in England one to every four hundred. The divorce rate is larger in the West, due perhaps to the greater freedom of life and dislike of restraint for which the West has always been noted.

Almost two-thirds of the divorces are granted to women, probably because most of the legal grounds for divorce — cruelty, desertion, drunkenness, and neglect to provide — can more often be proved against the husband. Over one-fourth of all the divorces are obtained within two years after

marriage, and more than half before the end of five years. Very incomplete records indicate that only one-third of those who obtain divorces ever marry again. These statistics seem to disprove the common idea that most divorces are obtained for the purpose of marrying again, and to indicate that hasty marriages are really to blame for many of them.

New York recognizes only one cause for divorce — adultery, and South Carolina grants no divorces at all. The Roman Catholic church authorizes no divorce. On the other hand, some states will grant divorces on the ground of desertion for a very short time and for other excuses which are so flimsy as to make it possible for people to get divorces virtually by mutual consent. Many of the real causes are not given in court for personal reasons, and the divorces are obtained on one of the most common charges. Sioux Falls and Reno have at different times been famous as divorce “resorts,” but both the states concerned have made their requirements for divorce more strict than formerly.

But why is this menacing increase in divorce? One explanation is the economic and social change that has taken place in this country and in the world, which has made it easier for people to get away from each other. We have seen that the whole family once found its work in the home; but through the introduction of the factory, the division of labor and the specialization in industry, the work formerly done in the home is done outside. First the man and then the woman found work in the outside world, and they became more independent of each other. Then the bond of common interest became easier to break. Women's rise almost or quite to an equality with men industrially, socially, and politically has made them unwilling to endure conditions which they formerly accepted as inevitable. There has been a change in moral standards too — some would say a lowering of them. In any case, we are more frank about recognizing facts. More divorces *may* not mean many more

separations of man and wife, but rather more legal recognition of conditions formerly kept hidden as far as possible.

Let us observe some of the results of this looseness of relationship. Many of the people who obtain divorces have children. These children lose the influence of good home life. If divorce becomes common, community morals will be irreparably ruined, and moral ruin means every other kind of disaster, as it did with the Roman Empire. Again, easy divorce gives marriage the effect of a trial — an experiment. A nation built on temporary homes cannot last long. Easy divorce encourages people to leap into marriage hastily and without serious thought because they know that if they do not like the association they can break away. Moreover, easy divorce promotes disrespect, intolerance, and selfishness. There is nothing to justify it.

What are the laws concerning divorce in your state? Are divorces frequently granted?

88. Making Things Better through Law. — Perhaps the first place to begin divorce reform is in our marriage laws. Only one woman in twelve and one man in eleven reaches middle age unmarried. Another fact, surprising to some, appears to be that the greatly increased numbers of women working has not reduced the number of marriages. Most of these working women are below middle age, one-half of them being under twenty-six years.

Laws and ideas about marriage differ greatly in different places. Many countries take the attitude that marriage is a civil contract and demand that it be done by some officer of the government. The Catholic church declares marriage to be a sacrament and demands its performance in the church. These conflicting ideas have caused some trouble. It often seems desirable in some countries to have two wedding ceremonies, one a civil marriage before a magistrate and another a religious ceremony before a clergyman. But other countries, like the United States, permit people to

choose between a religious and a civil marriage, and the great majority of marriages in this country are performed by clergymen.

In the United States, legislation concerning marriage has been left to the states. The result is that there are almost as many different marriage requirements as there are states. Provisions upon which most of the states agree are (1) the granting of a license by some public officer, (2) the performance of the ceremony by some civil or religious authority, (3) forbidding the marriage of people of near relationship or of those having personal defects, and (4) specifying the age at which people may marry without the consent of their parents — often twenty-one for the man and eighteen for the woman. Some states forbid the marriage of whites with negroes, with Chinese, or with Indians.

This great diversity of marriage laws has led to endless complication. A person may be married in one state and unmarried in another, a deplorable state of affairs, resulting inevitably in confusion and embarrassment in regard to titles to property, the rights of children, the transfer of inheritances, and the like. Too many silly young people, who do not know what they want, run away into a state which has easy laws and are married. Soon regretting it, they seek divorce. This is one of the cases in which prevention is far better than cure.

The registration of all marriages is another need. Only about half the states under the present laws keep any records of marriages, and many of these are not accurate. A matter of such great social significance demands the keeping of careful records. Eugenic marriage laws have recently been considered very seriously and adopted in a few states. These require a physician's certificate to be obtained by both parties before the marriage, in order to prevent the marriage of defectives.

Are conditions today more encouraging to early marriage than formerly? What effect on marriage would you expect from the

employment of women outside the home? What are the laws concerning marriage in your state? What would you consider desirable requirements for marriage?

Uniform marriage and divorce laws throughout the country are eminently desirable. Since we cannot hope for such uniformity by depending upon the action of forty-eight separate states, an amendment to the national Constitution authorizing Congress to pass marriage and divorce laws has been urged by thoughtful people as the next amendment to that document. Such national laws would doubtless be reasonably strict. Then we should have no more brief migrations to states having easy divorce laws or elopements of foolish children and young people. Just one lax state in the Union can make the marriage and divorce laws of many states almost valueless.

Would it be well to require five or ten days' delay between applying for and obtaining a marriage license? Would it be advisable to make it a crime under federal law for persons to travel from one state to another to be married if either party could not be married in the state of his or her actual residence?

Would it be reasonable to provide that no one should be granted a divorce in any state who had not lived there at least two years?

A sociological expert has proposed that, when a man and wife find that they cannot live together comfortably, the law should make it possible for a "separation" to be arranged, which should be a matter of public knowledge but should not permit either party to marry again during the other's lifetime, and should carry no social disgrace with it. What do you think of the idea?

To what extent do you think the movies are responsible for elopements and divorces and for loose ideas about marriage and moral conduct?

89. Making Things Better through Training. — Did we say that new laws are the first necessity? Perhaps in point of time, but does not the whole problem get back to the training in the home? Simple virtue, high ideals and worthy social accomplishments ought to come naturally from the training afforded by home life. Cooking, sewing, and the various other accomplishments of our mothers and grand-

mothers we sometimes laugh at as "old-fashioned." Boys and girls do not like to admit that they cannot do what their grandparents did, but it is true nevertheless. The movies and "society" are a poor exchange for a real home.

If marriage is to be the lasting and happy association we want it to be, people must make preparation before they enter it. No man or woman would think of going into a profession or a business without spending some time in preparing himself for it. Religious training teaches, besides virtue and regard for others' rights, the sanctity of the home and the correct ideals for marriage. A full acquaintance with the laws of physical health is indispensable. More practical training in home-making is also necessary. Too many young girls or their mothers seem to think that they will have servants to do the work and if it happens that a wife has to cook or sew or keep house, the results are often dismaying. Experience is undoubtedly the best teacher, but there are good and bad times to receive it.

Boys, too, should give some thought during their school life to the vocation they are going to follow, and before they marry they should have some "visible means of support." It is fine for a girl to have some vocation to which she can resort in case of emergency, but we expect the man to provide most of the funds for the family.

We need not overemphasize the financial side of home life. "Love in a cottage" may be far happier than mere existence in a mansion. But love alone is a poor substitute permanently for bread and butter. Good home finances make the other phases of the family work infinitely more pleasant. Young folks ought to be able to start with a clean slate, at least, and something in sight to "keep the wolf from the door."

One other element is important by way of preparation. Some time, somehow, boys and girls ought to think seriously and take good counsel about the qualities that are most needed in a life-partner. "Beauty is only skin deep," says the proverb truthfully — and sometimes it does not go that

far. A husband and wife should be able to get along with each other when neither looks beautiful, and there are qualities of soul far more important than qualities of feature. Besides, the qualities one needs particularly in a partner may not be at all the same that another needs. "First love" *may be* the last love and the only love, but "puppy love" is seldom the real thing. "Be *sure* you are right, and then go ahead," is sound advice on this important matter.

Mention mistakes you have observed in regard to preparation for home-making and in selecting a partner for life. Wherein is American freedom in courtship better or worse than the selection of partners by parents? What mistakes do we particularly need to guard against?

∴ The welfare of the home should be a fundamental aim of society. Outside attractions that tend to break it off must be curbed. Easy marriage and easy divorce are menaces to civilization. Preparation for home-making should be a central part of one's education, though possibly not obtained in the same way as some other phases of it.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Colonial Home.

Family Interests That Promote Right Home Life.

An Ideal Dwelling House for an Average Family.

Home Furnishings, Desirable and Otherwise.

Fads and Fashions in Personal Adornment.

Religion in Family Life.

Home-owning in the United States.

The Legal Relations of Landlord and Tenant.

REFERENCE READINGS

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VIII. ENERGIZING PUBLIC OPINION

There is still another force which may work mightily at Elevating American Standards. It is this force, public opinion, which enlarges or lessens the power of the laws, the church, and the home. What is this public opinion? How is it made? How and by whom may it be used to make society better?

90. What Is Public Opinion? — This is one of the things about which it is easier to get an impression than to put that impression into words. What "they say" is a powerful factor in conduct everywhere, even though it is not always easy to tell who "they" are. Perhaps we can describe public opinion as the collective attitude of a community toward some measure of general interest. Usually we think of it with reference to some particular proposition, as Sunday observance, buying Liberty bonds, or bobbed hair. Public opinion need not be the opinion of everybody, and effective opinion may not even be that of the majority. If the minority's feelings are intense and positive, they may overbalance those of a less active majority. Such may have been the case in the Revolutionary War, for it is very doubtful whether a majority of the people of the colonies felt that their grievances were sufficient to go to war about. "Individual views must be weighed as well as counted."

In determining public sentiment we can almost always see two elements competing for favor — the conservative and the liberal or radical. The former is satisfied with the existing conditions and desires little or no change in custom or ways of thinking. The second is willing to adopt new measures for the sake of the change and the chance of progress. Sometimes one seems to dominate and sometimes the other, and sometimes popular favor flies violently from

one side to the other. When it does go to an extreme, we may be sure it will come back. That public opinion is most to be trusted, then, which has been formed by a steady growth, even if slow, rather than inspired by passion or excitement. Progress, to be lasting, must not be like a hot-house plant which can endure neither the sun nor the frost of the outdoor world.

"Vox populi, vox Dei" is an old saying — the voice of the people is the voice of God. But is it? Surely the majority is not always right. Public opinion is made of individual thoughts and no man is infallible. As an equation in algebra, the X of public opinion $= A + B + C + D - E - F$. Newspapers, for example, play a big part in forming public opinion, but who would consider newspapers as divinely inspired? The blood of martyrs burned at the stake would almost cry aloud if we declared that public opinion is always the voice of God. Yet God speaks through our Lincolns and Roosevelts and Wilsons as He did through His prophets of old, and a people may speak in His name, too. In the long run, let us hope they do.

91. How Public Opinion Is Formed. — Public opinion is usually more of a sentiment or feeling than a reasoned conclusion. One person's opinion may begin unconsciously the instant he hears or reads a statement. He talks or writes to his neighbor or associates and they do likewise, spreading their common sentiment in an ever widening circle. But such process is rather slow unless some glaring evil is suddenly brought to light. Then it may take very little to start the music.

More rapid headway is usually made when schools, churches, or clubs take action as a body. A Chamber of Commerce, for example, might consider a certain matter. The members become interested through the activities of the organization. They, in turn, interest others either by public addresses or personal influence, and so the propa-

ganda is spread. It is well to remember, by the way, that propaganda may be distinctly good as well as bad.

Newspapers are perhaps the greatest factors in molding public opinion. There are so many people whose entire reading consists of absorbing some information from one newspaper, that the newspaper has a splendid field in which to exert its influence. If a person believes all he reads in a newspaper, he will naturally adopt its views. In days when people read the editorial page more than they do today, the word alone of Greeley or Dana or Bennett carried conviction to thousands. Because this is true, most people would do well to read more than one newspaper, in order that their views may not be prejudiced or biased.

The theater and "movie" have a larger share in this matter than many realize, largely because the individual is not conscious of it. Pictures such as "The Birth of a Nation" cannot help prejudicing people against the negro, and similar exhibitions must necessarily arouse enmity toward Japanese or Mexicans. In school, too, you acquire habits and ideals which, with or without your knowing it, will cause you to think and act differently than you otherwise would.

Forming or actuating public sentiment by constant repetition of an idea is an effective trick of advertising. Tell somebody often enough that a certain person or thing is good or bad, and he can hardly help believing it. But first of all, we may add, the advertiser must "sell himself." That is, he must convince himself that he has the goods that others ought to buy. Public opinion is not influenced by people who act as if they do not believe what they say or as if they do not expect other people to believe as they do.

May you while still in school help to form public opinion? How? Upon what are your own opinions based?

92. Making Public Opinion Felt. — Public opinion works in the same way that it forms — by contact. Public meet-

ings often make an impression on those who are otherwise dense. People arouse clubs or societies to the realization of some need, and they then urge these clubs to use their influence on some higher or larger organization. In this way they get to the authority that can change matters.

Besides being an agent in forming public opinion, the newspapers are a means by which it works. They are carried on for profit, and are extremely sensitive in the accounting rooms. They wish to please the people because it is good policy for them to do so, if for no other reason. This fact solves many a mystery as to the complete change of policy of some newspapers with regard to certain questions.

Politicians, too, have been known to change color faster than a chameleon. To be defeated is the thing the ordinary "organization" man hates most of all. He would far rather permit good laws to be passed if he can thereby keep his hold on the machinery than to go down to defeat in support of bad measures which he would support if he dared to. Even the cheapest type of law-maker will usually do what the people wish, if the people will say forcibly enough the thing that they do wish.

Moreover, we have an unseen part in government ourselves through our right to vote. We may feel as deeply as we please about a public issue, but may fail to use our one most effective means of expressing our feeling. Many of the chronic faultfinders never go to the polls. Sometimes, it is true, it is hard to determine by this means, because of the variety of issues that enter into an election, what the public will is about any one of them. But anything demanded by public sentiment will in no long time be accomplished; and, on the contrary, anything that the public has definitely set itself against is doomed to certain failure.

Is there a strong public sentiment in your school or community in favor of right conduct and general advancement? If not, why not? If so, how does it express itself?

Suppose your high school needs an athletic field. What steps would you take and what measures would you adopt to get one?

93. Personal Standards of Conduct.—High individual standards have three definite good effects on the community. Primarily they make the citizen better and happier, and since the public is simply a combination of citizens the ideals and purposes of the whole group must be cleaner and loftier. Then the example to others which any of us set may have a far-reaching personal effect on their lives. We cannot count the numbers of Americans who have been made better by studying the lives of Washington and Lincoln. And *you* do not know how many people imitate you. Besides, a citizen with high standards is firm against temptations and gusts of passion and misjudgments which may force others from the path of good citizenship. He stands for the best, whatever the rest may do.

What are some of these standards? There are at least four. A citizen should first of all be *intelligent*, in order to know what is right and good for himself and his community. He must be *conscientious* enough to desire only the best for himself and his neighbors. He must be *courageous* enough to stand by his principles and convictions when threatened by evil-doers. This is the spirit back of Wilson's remark: "Let them say what they will now. I am interested in what history will say six hundred years from now." And he must have enough *practical* common sense to know how to adapt himself to the times and people with whom he has to deal. As we have already observed, many good men and good causes have fallen for lack of this last quality.

Is it ever justifiable to yield any of one's principles to gain an end that is in itself good?

Judging from what you have heard and read, do you think high moral standards are more or less common or intense than formerly? Why do fewer men enter the ministry than formerly? Whose fault is it?

94. The Value of Leaders. — A home, church, or school without somebody to direct it becomes simply a group or mass that may wish to do something but does not know how to do it or in what direction to move. Just as truly the principle holds in a community or a nation. We need leaders to make democracy successful.

First, they make possible the unity of management and steadiness of policy without which no great movement can



A CAMPAIGN MEETING.

President Wilson during his campaign for reelection addressed this gathering at his "Summer Capital" in New Jersey. He appealed directly to the people to indorse his administration.

hope to succeed. Second, leaders are needed to speak and act for the people even when the people know their own mind. The people may choose their own leaders, but leaders they must have. Besides, vigorous and visionful leaders have a grand opportunity to encourage and inspire others to accomplishments that the masses would never think possible. And the glory and opportunity of leadership serve as an incentive to good work and a reward for it.

Not everybody can be a leader, it is true. Such a person must have vision and ideals of what he would like to bring about, and courage to hold to them. He must have the power to do what he asks his followers to do, and the ability to command and make himself obeyed. Yet if his leadership is to last in a democracy, it must make itself known by a "let's go" rather than by a "you go."

What would America be without its Washington and its Lincoln! Leaders they were in every sense of the word. A nation that keeps such men as its heroes cannot stray far away from the path of national honor and duty. And our heroes are not all dead. There is opportunity every day for service and leadership in community welfare. Sometimes we do not discover who our heroes are until they are gone. Then when it is too late for them to enjoy our appreciation, we exchange our brickbats for bouquets. Democracies are often ungrateful to their living servants.

"Democracy," said President Faunce of Brown, "does not mean that everybody is as good as everybody else, but that every one is good enough to have a voice in saying who the best men are." To locate a boulevard, to fix a tariff rate, to say how a mine shall be dug, are beyond the ability of the average man. He does not have the exact knowledge in general or the definite knowledge in particular to judge wisely about such matters. We must often be content with selecting men who ought to know how a thing should be done and then trusting their expert knowledge to do the thing right. A democracy can say what, in a big way, it wishes to have done, but it must leave the doing to those who know how.

Mention 10 forms of community service which the average voter could not perform; 10 problems of national importance in settling which expert advice is desirable. Show how Grant and Foch made victory possible in the wars which gave them fame. Mention 10 Americans who led us toward some definite principle or ideal. How many of them were appreciated while they lived?

95. The Community Will. — Leaders imply followers. An individual may arouse a community, but unless the community is moved to action his efforts may be vain. There can be a community spirit and purpose as well as an individual motive and aim. Such a community spirit makes all the difference between progress and backwardness.

Does the community feel a sense of responsibility for the welfare of its citizens, or is everybody satisfied to let everybody else go his own way? If liberty and equality and happiness are to be more than mere words, the gaining of them cannot be left to chance. The motive of the old prayer is too often typical: "The Lord bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more. Amen."

The entire community must command the loyalty of its citizens more devotedly than any part of the community does. One can be too selfishly concerned with the convenience or financial gain of himself and his family. He can care more for his lodge, his union, or his religious denomination than he does for good government. Unless loyalty to these smaller groups can be submerged when necessary in the higher loyalty to the entire community, state, or nation, the whole body may be working at cross purposes and wasting energy in fruitless quarrels instead of coöperating for the common good.

Perhaps it is easier to arouse a community spirit in a place that is not too large, for then it is easier to reach everybody and there are not so many diverse elements, each with its own interests. Yet even a great city can feel the impulse of a common loyalty that will urge the humblest citizen to put forth his best efforts to make and keep his city clean and honest. "Do it for Rochester" has been a real factor in civic upbuilding there. A Chamber of Commerce or some similar element can make itself potent for moral as well as commercial progress.

Make a list of the community slogans you can gather.

The one thing needful is that a community shall never say "It can't be done" in any matter affecting the welfare of its people. To become a "Spotless Town" or a "City Beautiful" may be a difficult undertaking, but no community can justify itself for not becoming a safe place for children to be born and brought up or for tolerating loose living and low morals. If we are to set up American standards as high as we ought to wish them, each community must make itself morally clean and each citizen must keep himself so.

∴ Public opinion, though sometimes flighty and fickle, is mighty. Right public opinion results from the conviction, enthusiasm, and loyalty of earnest, united citizens. It requires leadership with intelligence and vision, and followers with faith and devotion.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Public Opinion in the Colonies and in England in regard to the Revolution.

The Abolitionists and Public Opinion.

Resolved, that the newspaper is a stronger moral force in the community than the pulpit.

Heroes of America.

Heroes of Other Lands.

Propaganda and Its Uses.

Community Slogans.

Ideals as Factors in National Progress.

REFERENCE READINGS

Bryce — American Commonwealth, Chapters 76-81.

Bryce — Modern Democracies, Chapters 13-15, 44, 76.

Young — New American Government, Chapter 27.

Blackmar and Gillin — Outline of Sociology, Part III, Chapter 4.

Lowell — Public Opinion and Popular Government, Part I.

Hayes — Introduction to Sociology, pp. 301-322, 634-651.

MAKING AMERICA PROSPEROUS

"The man or woman who does work worth doing is the man or woman . . . whose ambition is to do it well and to feel rewarded by the thought of having done it well. That man, that woman, puts the whole country under an obligation." — RUSKIN.

Realizing now the necessity of knowledge, common sense, honesty, and the square deal, may we not hope to apply them to the means by which we make a living? If we can understand the facts and laws which govern our business life, we can surely hope to make the pursuit of happiness easier and equality of opportunity more common. If by prosperity we mean general well-being and not the heaping up of riches by a few, we surely should strive to attain it. How may we coöperate in doing this?

IX. COÖPERATING IN PRODUCTION

96. **The Material Basis of Life.** — If we wished to bestow a formal title upon the studies we have been making, we might call them problems in *sociology*. Now we may turn to some problems in *economics*, the science which deals with the means of earning our living, with the work or business side of our lives. However noble may be our ideals and our desires to attain them, we are obliged to recognize that our life rests on a material basis. If we cannot keep alive, our ideals cease to exist, except as we have inspired them in others. We all have needs and wants, some of which simply must be satisfied before we or our community can do anything or plan anything.

Some people even go so far as to refer every important phase of American development to an economic origin. We are proud of the ideals and principles which were back of the American Revolution. Nevertheless, the colonies would not have dared to defy the British king and Parliament if

they had not already felt economically able to look out for themselves. A social and economic institution, slavery, brought on the Civil War. Our political controversies have been largely over economic questions. Much of the history



THE OLD GRIST MILL.

This mill at New London, Connecticut, is 250 years old. Compare this with the mill shown on page 198.

and progress of any group of people is dependent upon its material interests and prosperity.

This prosperity is measured in terms of wealth. *Wealth* is the total amount of material goods or possessions that can be estimated in a money value. We could not class brains, for instance, as wealth, since their worth cannot be expressed in dollars and cents. And what are goods? *Goods* are those things which can gratify some want — good things, the word means by derivation, though the effect of some of them may be decidedly not good. There are *free*

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goods — things that Nature supplies in abundance, as air, and *economic goods* — things that are limited in quantity and can be obtained only by working or paying for them.

Are these wealth: a baseball, the Statue of Liberty, a jack-knife, a street railway, this book, a suit of clothes, education? Can any of them be wealth in one case and not in another?

A thing may have two sorts of value. It has *value in use* if it directly satisfies a want. It has *value in exchange*



Courtesy of Pillsbury Flour Mills.

GRINDING FLOUR.

This is the longest row of such machines in the world.

if it can be used to obtain other goods. The diamond has a high value in exchange if you trade it for food or some other necessity, but its value in use depends upon the person who possesses it. The fact that to some people it seems to have an exceedingly high value in use is what gives it its exchange value.

Is there any difference between the everyday use and the economic use of the terms defined here? Which form of value does money possess? clothes? a handkerchief? oil stock? Can free goods have exchange value?

97. Why We Work.— We may wish to obtain goods for their own usefulness in gratifying our wants, or may desire to use them to serve some social end. Few of us can get them without working. Several motives, therefore, may urge us to acquire them and to engage in the work which makes their acquirement possible.

(1) We work *to keep alive*, since for the necessities of life we must exchange either our services or something acquired by work.

(2) We want *to obtain comforts or luxuries* beyond the demands of mere existence.

(3) Some people desire the *power or prestige* that the possession of wealth seems to bring.

(4) Some of us work *because we like it*. Artists, inventors, and actors have an inborn desire to create or express something, and would be unhappy if they could not do so. Some may simply dislike idleness, for few people deliberately choose to loaf all the time.

(5) Some desire to possess wealth or render service for the sake of *the good they can do*. Social workers, teachers, and ministers seldom do their work solely for the money or the wealth to be gained by it, and in many another profession or trade the hope of rendering service to friends or fellow-citizens may inspire one at least to work more actively and thoroughly than he would for his own benefit alone.

Make a list of ten occupations in which your family or neighbors engage, and classify them in accordance with the motives that cause them to engage in these occupations. Is a man lucky if he does not have to work? Would Edison work if he got no money for his labor? Why does a millionaire work?

98. Supplying a Community's Needs.— It takes three factors working together to supply our needs: land, labor,

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and capital. To the economist *land* is any natural resource that is utilized in production. In this sense water, soil, minerals, trees, or even animals may be termed land. *Labor* is human energy used in production, whether it be the work of brain or brawn. We sometimes use the word *services* to refer to personal aid or attention which does not in itself produce any material thing, but which aids others to produce or bestows some benefit.

Is a policeman a laborer in the above sense? a broker? a hotel-waiter? a janitor? an office boy? a telephone operator?



Courtesy Brown Hoisting Machinery Co.

CAPITAL AT WORK

Imagine how many men it would take and how much time to do what this machine is accomplishing. Yet human ingenuity is necessary to construct the machine and to keep it in operation.

Capital is any product of past industry that is used in producing something more. Do not confuse capital with money or wealth. Capital may be in the form of a factory, a machine, a typewriter, or even a laborer's shovel, if he has

bought it with money earned by past labor. Money may be capital, when it is used directly in carrying on an industry, but money stored in an attic or carried in your pocket is not capital as long as it stays there. Wealth includes capital and much more besides. A business man's delivery truck is capital, but his pleasure car is not.

How many people are capitalists? Are these capital: baseballs, moving picture films, garden seeds, overcoats, railway trains, Liberty bonds, pocket-rulers, paint-brushes?

These three factors may not be brought into proper relation with each other unless some one takes this work upon himself as his special responsibility. Such service, usually termed *management*, is so important that it is often considered a fourth factor in production, though some look upon it as a form of mental labor. It enters into all industry. Neither the farmer nor the railroad man nor the shoemaker will gain the best results from his employment of capital or labor or land unless there is wise management in the use of all three.

Which is more important to the school system, the janitor or the superintendent? Which would do the more harm if he went on a strike?

The qualities or features of goods that enable them to satisfy wants we call *utilities*. There are several kinds of utilities. An article has *form* utility when its usefulness depends upon its shape. The glass in a bottle is virtually useless after it is broken. The manufacturer is particularly concerned with providing form utilities.

Time utility results from the presence of a commodity *when* it is serviceable. Ice, for instance, is of little use in the winter but almost a necessity in July. An umbrella is usually a nuisance except when it is raining. Stores and storage houses afford time utility. A third quality, *place* utility, comes from the presence of a commodity *where* it is serviceable. A barrel of flour in Minneapolis has no value

in use to the New York man, until it is given place utility by means of transportation. The railroad is the greatest agency in creating place utilities. We may add *possession* as a fourth kind of utility. The family that occupies a house which it owns or rents finds in it a much greater value in use than if it were occupied by some one else. And some economists mention *natural* utilities as still another variety. An apple, they say, satisfies our wants by reason of an inherent quality that may be affected by the other four utilities that we have mentioned but is distinct from them. A commodity may of course possess several utilities at the same time.

Consumption is the use of goods to gratify wants. The time element in consumption varies greatly. The consumption of an apple means its immediate destruction. But the consumption of chairs or typewriters means little else than use, for the destruction entailed may not be noticeable at any one time. We mention consumption first because things are not produced unless people desire to consume them.

Production means the giving of utilities to goods. The producer does not create anything, but transforms it so as to make it more useful. We must not think of production as simply farming or manufacturing. The railroad in furnishing place utilities is a producer we could hardly do without.

Exchange is the process by which the transfer of ownership or occupation of goods is made possible. Exchange does not mean transportation. It may mean simply barter or "swapping" goods, but usually involves the use of money or some substitute for money.

Distribution is the division of the returns from production among the factors which have taken part in it. The compensation of the land owner, the wages of the laborer, the interest of the capitalist, all are concerned with it. Obtaining fair distribution, as we shall see, is one of our greatest problems and one of the farthest from solution.

99. What We Do. — There is perhaps no limit to human wants, and the means for gratifying those wants are infinitely extensive. The world therefore affords a wide variety of ways of acquiring a living. We need not assume, as the old saying has it, that for every sucker that is born there are two to catch him; but for every human want we shall probably find people who are willing to supply the means to meet it.

Professor Carver, in his "Principles of Economics," has a helpful analysis of the means by which people get a living. Let us use part of it for illustration here, with some modifications.

UNECONOMICAL		ECONOMICAL		
Harmful	Neutral	Primary	Secondary	Personal Service
Counter- feiting Swindling Boot- legging Robbery	Inheriting wealth Marrying wealth Land spec- ulation	<i>Extractive</i> Mining Lumbering Fishing Hunting Grazing <i>Genetic</i> Agriculture Forestry	Manufac- turing Trading Storage Transpor- tation	Law Medicine Preaching Teaching Acting Public officer Hair-dressing

Uneconomical activities are those which contribute nothing to the well-being or happiness of others. Those in this group which are distinctly harmful society will not long tolerate. Those which have little social effect for either good or evil are not numerous, and few people are able to depend upon such means of existence.

Economical activities are those whose products or services help to satisfy human wants. A nation in which everybody contributed to the general good as much as or more than he received himself would come near our ideal of prosperity.

Primary industries are those that deal directly with natural resources. This division has two branches. Those activities which merely receive the materials without attempting to replace them are called *extractive*. The *genetic* industries are those which call for planning by human agency and which tend to increase the supply of the product. The *secondary* industries take the products of the primary ones and work by *transforming*, *transporting*, or *trading* them.



FISHING BOATS IN BOSTON HARBOR.

This business has been practically all taken over by Italians, except for the catches far from the mainland.

Personal service refers to activities which promote comfort, amusement, knowledge, or good morals. Though persons so engaged seldom produce tangible things, their work is often important and vital. We cannot, however, give much attention to them in discussing economic topics because of the difficulty of measuring their output in money.

Over 7000 occupations are mentioned in our last census report. One-third of our people are still engaged in some form of agriculture — by far our most important occupa-

tion, as it has always been. A group nearly as large are employed in manufacturing or other mechanical industries. About one-sixth are connected with transportation, one-tenth with trade, and one-tenth with domestic or personal service.

Extend the examples of various kinds of activities given on page 203. Classify the occupations of your community, either by using a local directory or by having each member of the class make a little occupation census of his own block or neighborhood.

100. Industry in the Old Days. — There have been mighty changes in the way man has earned his living. We can



Courtesy Bureau of Indian Affairs.

SHEEP RAISING IN THE WEST.

Some other countries have advanced more rapidly in sheep raising than the United States. But in some of our Western states they are still raised in large numbers. This particular flock is on the Navajo Indian Reservation in Arizona. Under government supervision the Indians are learning to care for their sheep and get a higher grade of wool than formerly.

distinguish four principal stages through which mankind has passed: the hunting and fishing, the pastoral, the agricultural, and the industrial stages. Of course the early ones did not disappear when the later ones developed, but continued along with them. Often nations did not reach the various stages of development at the same time, as we can observe by studying the people of the world even today.

In the *hunting and fishing* stage each family looked out for itself, living on "fish, flesh, and fowl" which it killed or on wild grains and fruits. It contributed next to nothing to human progress. The *pastoral* stage began when men domesticated wild animals. They collected large herds or flocks, and wandered about finding pasturage. Tribes sometimes fought with each other, and made slaves out of their



Courtesy United Shoe Machinery Co.

HOW IT USED TO BE DONE.

This man did all the work in making shoes. Contrast his job with that of the man shown in the picture on page 212.

captives. In introducing planning and management into the raising of animals a very clear industrial advance was made.

The next step was to introduce similar planning and management into the raising of crops. This *agricultural* stage called for more settled living, for it takes time for crops to grow. Slavery and serfdom appear in the life of many peoples in this stage of their progress. The strongest held the desirable land and others worked it for him, paying him in crops or service. Land ownership became generally recognized.

The *manufacturing* stage began in a simple way in giving

form to pottery, crude tools or household articles, or cloth. At length some people started to produce for others. In that way many small industries were established, but they were usually confined to the work of one family, with perhaps a few helpers, and the work was done under one roof.

This type of manufacturing is known as the domestic system. The increased importance of such activity is seen in the organization of workers, in the later Middle Ages, into guilds, with strict regulations laid down for the work of various trades. There was often, too, a close connection between the guilds and the local government, but after a while this government regulation almost disappeared. Trade between communities was a notable outgrowth of this age of manufacturing.

Point out the relative importance of land, labor, capital, and management in each of these industrial stages.

101. The Industrial Revolution. — As late as the middle of the 18th century over nine-tenths of the people were engaged in agriculture, and even this was done about as crudely as in the days of Julius Cæsar. Trade had expanded rather widely, however, and colonies had been founded by enterprising nations, which the mother country sought to hold closely to herself in one economic unit. Then there took place a comparatively sudden revolution, a revolution as real and far-reaching as any political overturn could be. It began in England, and for some time its effects were felt there most.

In 1764, Hargreaves invented his "spinning jenny," named after his wife. Then Arkwright came forward with a spinning machine, and Crompton in 1779 with his "spinning mule." One machine could now spin many threads better and faster than the housewife formerly made one. Cartwright's power loom (1785) improved weaving, to keep pace with spinning. Eli Whitney's cotton gin, invented in 1793, made it possible to supply the raw cotton which the new machine industry demanded.

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Along with these inventions came many others that were useful incidentally. Watt's steam engine (1769) was first employed in pumping water from coal mines, but it was not long before it was made useful in furnishing force in mills. Greatly improved methods of farming were introduced. Telford and Macadam showed England how to construct better highways. Fulton sailed his *Clermont* up the



Courtesy International Harvester Co.

THE FIRST McCORMICK REAPER.

Notice also the old-fashioned windmill.

Hudson in 1807. George Stephenson ran his locomotive successfully in 1823.

With all the new machinery available, manufacturing could no longer be done at home or in a small shop. Great factories sprang up, and as the government had ceased to supervise industry nobody paid any attention to the conditions under which the masses of laborers worked. Too little light, no sanitation, little children toiling their lives out in sordid surroundings, were features of the early factories which continued until England's conscience and common sense finally caused the passage of laws to remove or relieve them. Improved means of transportation made

possible nation-wide or world-wide markets. Industry has made wonderful strides since a century ago, but most of its significant characteristics had begun then in England.

In the United States the change was slower and less sudden. Samuel Slater opened a cotton mill at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790, and Francis C. Lowell a fairly complete mill at Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1814. The so-called War of 1812 nearly ruined New England commerce and made the people of that section take an interest in manufacturing. But the great industrial era in the United States dates from after the Civil War.



Courtesy United Shoe Machinery Co.

THE NEW AND THE OLD IN SHOEMAKING.

Far into the nineteenth century there could be found in many a New England town one of the cobbler's shops which were often called "ten footers" because of their size. This particular shanty has been moved to the grounds of the company named above at Beverly, Massachusetts, to show the tremendous contrast between the early days of shoemaking and the era exemplified by the company's great plant today.

102. Present-day Production. — As a result of the Industrial Revolution present-day production is far different from the domestic system. Machinery of an intricate and standardized character is essential. As we have noticed, the work has moved into entirely separate buildings, called factories or mills. The development of transportation makes it unnecessary to place these buildings near the raw mate-

rials, and they are as likely to be found at points where the marketing of their product is most easily managed.

The workers no longer own their tools. They cannot do so, when enormous machines are so often required. Personal relationship between the employer and employee is seldom possible. The employee often receives his wages from one who is himself a hired man. If he has anything to say about hours or conditions of work, he probably has to speak through representatives rather than directly. He is one of perhaps hundreds or thousands.

Large-scale production characterizes every feature of modern business. Production is so extensively organized and highly capitalized, that the most modern and best appliances can be used with profit, and the raw materials and by-products can be controlled. Great corporations are organized, whose resources are vast. Large, better, and quicker production naturally brings lower cost to the producer and consumer. Minute division of labor is not only possible but necessary.

Are all these new factors productive of good and not evil? We would hardly dare say so, in view of the slums, the masses of ignorant immigrant laborers, and other conditions which we have already noticed. But just here we are noticing what the facts are, rather than trying to interpret them.

103. Division of Labor. — By division of labor we mean such an adjustment of work that one worker confines himself to performing only a part of an industrial process. The worker may have no understanding whatever of the management of the industry with which he is connected. His co-operation with others may be wholly automatic and almost unconscious.

Conscious, *simple coöperation* must have occurred very easily, as when several men might work together in killing a bear. We still see this when we observe four or five men carrying a piano upstairs or lifting an iron rail. At first

everybody was expected to be a jack-of-all-trades, but as time went on it was evident that some people could do certain things better than others could; and so one man became the Baker, the Miller, or the Carpenter, depending upon others to furnish the things he needed to live on, while he did his particular kind of work for them.¹ This is called *division of occupations*.

Next came the *division of labor* into different steps or services within the same trade, as when one carpenter lays floors, and another makes sashes, doors, or blinds. With the constant introduction of machinery the work of making a shirt, a shoe, or a shovel might require dozens of small performances, each one of which and no more might be done by one person. This *specialization* we see carried over into the professions, too, when one lawyer handles only cases affecting property or one teacher limits his instruction to the history of one nation.

A similar specialization may be observed in certain communities, too. Because a community has access to the raw material needed in some industry; because it is near a place where there is a good market for a certain product; because



Copyright, Boston Photo News Co.

A ROW OF FISHING SCHOONERS.

Fishing is still important in some New England ports although not so many engage in it as formerly. A picture cannot show the varied smells of a fish pier.

¹ Many family names originated in this way.

suitable labor is available at some point ; because somebody started an industry there and built up a kind of reputation for the business and the town which has been perpetuated — for these and other reasons, towns became noted for special



Courtesy United Shoe Machinery Co.
AN EXAMPLE OF INDUSTRIAL SPECIALIZATION.

This man performs one process out of many in shoemaking.

of work, he may try to find a way of doing it better or of making his labor easier. Many very helpful machines have originated with common workmen.

On the other hand, if a person does all the work on some article he will come to love his work and to take pride in his product, but there is no inspiration in making a part of a nut a thousand or more times a day. It is dulling to

products. Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha for meat-packing, Detroit for automobiles, Pittsburgh for iron and steel, Troy for collars and cuffs, Lynn for boots and shoes — the list is long.

Now is this specialization beneficial? Yes, chiefly ; no, in part. The improvement in skill due to specialization increases both the quality and the quantity of the work. There results a saving of time formerly lost in changing tasks and in learning a more general trade. The division of labor also leads to the discovery of easier and better methods. When a man's entire attention is centered on one phase

the mind and makes labor unattractive. It limits the field of interest and narrows the vision. It is even charged that whole communities will be similarly affected if they are devoted to only one line of activity. Yet specialization causes interdependence of men and communities upon each other; so that even if their product does not lead to wide contact, their need of other people's products may have that effect.

One sound economic principle is known as the law of *least social cost*: the general good is best promoted if each individual or community devotes itself to the activity which it enjoys and which it is best qualified to undertake. In this way we can really coöperate in production most effectively. Social and economic *adjustment*, so that every person may get the most possible from his surroundings and contribute the most possible to the well-being of others, is eminently desirable. *Maladjustment* which keeps workers at tasks and under environments which are ruinous to body and soul is altogether too common. Some tasks can never be pleasant, but surely some compensating conditions can be provided if we try to supply them. Here is a problem of real importance.

To what extent are division of labor and specialization exemplified in the industries represented by the members of your family? Does your community specialize in some particular industry? Why? Explain the examples of specialization given above, and add others. How far is division of labor carried in your school? Henry Hicks has more than ordinary ability as a teacher; he also finds a fascination in the work of a post office. Which would you advise him to engage in, and why?

∴ Material well-being is essential to progress. Industry has become highly specialized, so that coöperation, though more essential than ever, takes a far different form than in primitive days. The gratification of the individual's wants and needs depends upon the extent to which he is able to adjust himself to his surroundings or modify his surroundings to meet his wishes. The community must help him to do both.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Economic Interests of Our Community.
Medieval Industries.
The Great Fairs of the Middle Ages.
American Colonial Industry.
Great American Inventors.
The Industrial Revolution in the United States.
Inventors That Have Made History.
Great Inventors of the 18th Century.
The Development of the Iron Industry (or some other).
The Industrial History of (your town or some other).

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Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 1-4, 25.
Adams — Description of Industry, Chapters 1, 2, 4-6.
Lessons in Community and National Life, A-3, A-8, C-9, C-10, C-11, C-12.
Dealey — Sociology, Chapter 11.
Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapters 1, 2.
Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapters 1-4.
Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapters 15, 18.
Seager — Principles of Economics, Chapters 1-5.
Burch and Patterson — American Social Problems, Chapters 13, 14.

X. FACILITATING THE TRANSFER OF PRODUCTS

If a man is to devote himself to producing one thing and no other, he must have some means of obtaining the products of other men, for man does not live by any one thing alone. By what agencies is this transfer made possible? How are the arteries of trade kept open? How do men keep in touch with one another?

A. Transportation

104. Its Meaning to Civilized Life. — Before any production will take place, men must believe there will be a market for their goods. Before we can establish markets, we must have means of taking our goods to them. The activity, the prosperity, we might say the existence, of civilized life rests solely on these possibilities. If men or nations cannot exchange goods, they will be forced to devote themselves largely to obtaining the means to keep alive. Progress and varied interests will be difficult or impossible. Trade has caused wars, it is true, but trade has given nations common interests and has bound them together.

This advancement and unification appears, first, industrially. The world is one great market now. Trade and commerce have always been of the utmost importance, but never so great or so far-reaching as today. The telegraph, the wireless, and the cable enable people to carry on business quickly and satisfactorily, although an ocean lies between them. Our newspapers quote prices and business conditions all over the world every day. The enormous industries and large-scale production of today are possible only because, by means of these and other great inventions, the entire business world is always within reach. Raw material or fuel can be brought from a distance, and the cost of manufacture is reduced.

A second phase of progress is the political. The voice of government officials is heard by the people through the newspapers and announced by telegraph, telephone, and wireless. We come nearer to common thoughts, ideals, and policies. People learn how others feel about public questions. All the nation takes interest in what is going on. It has been said that to a large extent the Civil War resulted from the fact that few railroads united the North and the South, though many lines ran East and West. Lacking the means of extensive intercourse, the two sections lacked also common understanding. Similarly, the disagreements that nearly killed the newborn United States of America in their cradle resulted from a lack of acquaintance and communication among the thirteen states.

Transportation and communication also help progress socially. Nations realize that there are good things in other peoples, and are enabled to share their own blessings with them. Comforts and conveniences of civilized life, education, religious ideals, the healing of disease, are being made possible everywhere. "Trade follows the flag" is a phrase that used to be common. But much more often trade goes first and brings the flag or its ideals afterward.

Enumerate the conveniences and advantages that you enjoy right where you are this instant by reason of trade and communication.

105. Water Transportation. — Civilization could certainly not have advanced so fast if man had had to fight his entire way overland through forests and deserts. But there were inland lakes and rivers, and by some body of water, especially where two rivers came together or a river emptied into a bay, was built many an early town. Man soon learned to use these waters for travel. First oars, then sails, and finally steam and electric engines were the motive force. Until the keels, charts, and compasses were invented, the best boats were dangerous, but then men could visit every one of the "seven seas." Within the last century steel has played a

big part in ship construction. Now we have our huge palatial ocean liners, like communities afloat. Our modern battleships are veritable monsters.

In the first half of the 19th century, when almost all shipping was done by water, a craze for the construction of canals seized the country. Over 4500 miles of canals were built, of which many more than half have become totally useless. Most notable and important of the early artificial waterways was the Erie Canal. This built up New York city and state wonderfully and for a long time was a vital connecting link



Canal and Lock.

AN OLD-TIME CANAL.

between East and West. Recently the state of New York spent \$100,000,000 on its Barge Canal along nearly the same route, so that larger boats can use it. The Sault Ste. Marie Canal, usually called the "Soo," connecting Lakes Superior and Huron, is also very important. More freight passes through it than through any of the more famous canals of the world.

The Panama Canal, opened in 1914, is the great national undertaking of the kind, and is one of the marvelous engineering feats of history. It cost the United States about \$475,000,000. It shortens the distance from New York to San Francisco by water 8000 miles.

The United States has fine opportunities for water transportation, with its two long coast lines, great river systems, and large lakes. Every year Congress spends millions of dollars for the improvement of these waterways. But much of it has been worse than wasted, because the annual River and Harbor bill has been a Congressional "pork barrel" — the means for a Congressman to have federal money spent in



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BOATS ON THE LEVEE AT ST. LOUIS.

The great Mississippi River was once more used for transportation than it is now, but a new style steel boat is coming into considerable use in that section.

his own district. And it is even more astonishing to think of the enormous amount of good these waterways could do if used to capacity. However, people prefer to use the railroad because of its superior speed, and Americans have a habit of ordering goods at the eleventh hour. Water costs are usually much cheaper. For instance, it costs 80 cents a ton to carry freight 1000 miles between Duluth and Ashtabula, but

for the 135 miles by railroad between Ashtabula and Pittsburgh it costs 90 cents a ton. It would seem that with such savings business would revert to waterways, but there is only enough business to help keep the railroad rates in those regions down.

The principal traffic on the Great Lakes today is the carrying of coal, ores, and grain. Any such products, which will "keep" for a long time can be carried even better by water than by land. Some of the Great Lake boats make good speed, too. And when you think of the enormous cranes and buckets which lift many tons at once in loading or unloading the ships, you conclude that facilities for water transportation have kept pace with other forms. Why won't Americans make more use of them! In times of prosperity our railroads seem to have all the business they can readily handle. Attractive plans have been laid for canals connecting the Great Lakes with the Ohio and Mississippi, and for linking the heads of bays and of navigation, on rivers, and a number of them have been constructed. But if they will not be used after they are dug, why waste the cost of their construction? Can we not arouse Americans to this inexcusable neglect of natural opportunities?

106. The Railroad. — No industrial agency has so changed this country as the railroads have. They have become clearly the chief economic bond of unity for the nation. Every business depends upon them to some extent. The first real passenger and freight railroad was the Baltimore and Ohio, started in 1828 and in operation by 1830. In 1835, there were all told 200 miles of railroad, which by 1860 had grown to 33,000 miles and now to 254,000 miles. Texas has the greatest number of miles, followed by Illinois and Pennsylvania. This tremendous growth owed much to government encouragement. There have been 31,500,000 acres of government land distributed among the various railroads of the country.

Although mileage has increased, the number of railroads is decreasing, because of the joining of several small ones into

one system.¹ From 210 systems in 1853 the number dropped to 50 in 1907. To a certain extent this is good, since transferring from road to road on a trip is inconvenient and expensive. Still it is not desirable that any one road should gain too much control over a district. It is not fair that one road should be able to make or break the possibility of progress in any large territory. Many notable present-day lines have

77 What is a rail road?

A. An improved kind of road, now much used in the United States; also in Great Britain and other European countries.



Rail-Road.

The cars or carriages used on them are drawn by steam locomotive engines, at the rate of 20 or 30 miles an hour, and sometimes even more. Vast numbers of people, and great quantities of merchandise, are conveyed by them from place to place, much more rapidly than by other methods.

HOW THE RAILROAD WAS DESCRIBED IN 1852.

This is a copy of part of a page from Mitchell's School Geography, which was widely used at that time.

resulted from these combinations, such as the New York Central System, the Pennsylvania, and the Southern Pacific. The railroads also have mostly passed into the hands of a few groups of wealthy interests. In 1915, five groups controlled

¹ In 1921, railroad mileage actually decreased; but since this was a year of general business depression, we cannot be sure whether it has virtually reached its maximum or not.

over half the mileage of the country. Railroad "kings," such as Vanderbilt, Harriman, and Hill, did much to build up these systems. Their purposes were chiefly selfish, but to a great extent they made their roads and the regions served by them what they are today.

Depending on the railroad is the express business. The idea was started by W. F. Harnden of Massachusetts in 1839. In those times it was very expensive and fairly dangerous to travel, and he conceived the idea of taking care of people's business for them when it involved travel and the shipping of goods. Several large companies later sprang up, but the exigencies of the Great War caused their combination into the one system known as the American Railway Express. The establishment of the parcel post service by the Post Office Department took away much of the business of the express companies and made them less profitable.

Make a list of ten articles in common use which you could not have if it were not for the railroad. Has improved transportation helped to improve the conditions of the working people? Has it made living conditions more uniform in the different sections? Have railroads made more serious or less the problems of great cities? Give examples of the ways in which natural conditions have affected the construction of railways, such as mountains, streams, forests, climate, and the like.

107. Railroad Needs. — Even if all the business possible were turned over to canals, there would still remain a large amount of perishable goods which we should have to ship by the railroads. Without railroads the people of the cities would have to spread out into the country to obtain food. Now have they become like the fabled monster which an inventor created only to have it destroy him? What do they most need, from their own viewpoint, and from the public's?

One thing is sure, they need, from both viewpoints, government regulation. And since so many of them were aided by grants of public land, they cannot reasonably claim to be exempt from public supervision. Since railroads have passed

into the control of a few financial groups, they have become more than ever a kind of monopoly. Besides, in the days before regulation was provided, railroad companies often discriminated unfairly between places, persons, or commodities. They gave special rates or rebates to large shippers and certain places. To do away with the expenses of competition, several systems would make an agreement to "pool" their



Courtesy New York Central R.R.

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

The first train on the New York Central Railroad is standing on a track beside a modern engine.

receipts, raise the rates, and divide the returns according to a prearranged schedule.

How would railroads profit by engaging in any of the practices mentioned here? Would large or small roads be more likely to be tempted to engage in them?

At first some of the states attempted to deal with the situation, especially when the "Grangers," representing the farm interests, controlled state legislatures. Today every state has its Public Service Commission or Public Utilities Commission or some similar body, which has control over intra-state commerce, to protect the public's interest. But since so much of the railroad business is interstate, legislation by the states cannot reach it effectively.

Congress did not exercise its power to regulate interstate commerce until 1887. Then it created an Interstate Commerce Commission of five members appointed by the President, and gave it authority to inspect the books of interstate

railroads, require annual reports, and publish the rates charged. Roads were forbidden to engage in pooling, or to charge more for a short haul of goods in one direction than for a longer haul over the same line in the same direction. By a later act it was made illegal to give rebates. The Commission's work has become so important that the members have been increased to eleven, and its powers enormously enlarged. It may investigate any feature of railroad operation, may set the maximum rates for passenger, express, and freight service, and has been instructed to undertake the valuation of railroad properties — this latter being a detailed, complex task of very doubtful value. The "I.C.C." has been composed for the most part of able men to whose services the country owes much.

During the Great War the President took over the railroads, so that their administration might be carried with the country's needs first in mind. To hand them back to their private owners was not so easy a proposition as it might seem, but for further regulation Congress finally evolved a measure known as the Esch-Cummins Act of 1920. This act did three important things. (1) It restored the railroads to their private owners, offering them some financial aid in the form of loans and outright payments. (2) It authorized the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant rates that would assure a return to investors of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent,¹ any excess profits over that figure to be divided between the railroads and the government. (3) It established the Railway Labor Board to assist in settling labor disputes on the railroads. In 1926, however, the Watson-Parker Act abolished this board and substituted a system of conferences between representatives of railroad managers and employees. Under this plan the government may assist in bringing together the two parties to the dispute but has no part in making the actual settlement. For some

¹ This rate was guaranteed for two years. Thereafter the Interstate Commerce Commission was to determine what was a reasonable return.

224 Problems of American Democracy

reason the representatives of labor in recent years have insisted that disputes must be settled directly with the employers without the participation of representatives of the public.

Financially the railroads were in bad shape when the government gave them back — and this not necessarily through any fault of the government, for the winning of the War had to be almost the only thing on its mind. The cost of labor, materials, and repairs increased much beyond the increase in



Courtesy Westinghouse Electric Co.

A TRAIN COMING OUT OF THE HUDSON TUNNEL.

Electric engines are used to draw trains under the Hudson River in and out of the great Pennsylvania Station, New York City.

rates. Yet if rates were raised too high, it would seriously reduce the freight and passenger traffic. Borrowing money at the high rates of interest prevailing after the War seemed often only an expensive way of postponing the evil day. The labor question also forms a large part of the problem of railroad finance. The employers want to reduce expenses by cutting wages, and the employees do not want them cut, unless rates are cut also.

Some roads even under these unfavorable conditions have

enjoyed fair prosperity, but others found it at times impossible even to meet expenses. Some experts therefore consider a complete reorganization of the roads a third great need. The Interstate Commerce Commission has proposed to make nineteen groups out of the railroads of the country, with some one or two strong roads as the nucleus of each group. While this would not be considered good policy under private control it might be if carried out under strict government supervision. It would do away with needlessly conflicting schedules and unnecessary competition, while preserving some competitive features, and would bring the smaller, weaker roads into a helpful relation with the others. Such a plan is not particularly pleasing to the large roads, but their interests are not the only ones for the public to consider.

108. Street Railways. — Every big railroad system does some suburban business in the neighborhood of large cities, but it cannot conveniently serve more than a few of a great community's population. For this reason we must have some kind of local transportation in cities and towns. This need the street railways supply.

Once they used horse cars, then cable cars, and then electric surface cars. Into four of our big cities the elevated or the subway or a combination of the two has come — Boston, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. These relieve surface congestion, and can go very rapidly because they have a clear track. Stations at short intervals make them convenient for most passengers. They enable people to live in the suburbs of cities and to go into town easily without loss of time.

An important development of the street railway is the interurban line, between separate cities or towns. The cars are usually large and travel rapidly, but stop frequently. Such lines often are of great service to rural districts. They carry passengers, freight, and mail. Little towns often spring up along them. People can live in the beautiful open country, and yet have their business in town.

Many street railways, in spite of their extensive traffic, have been losing money. Like the steam roads, they have had to contend with constantly mounting costs of equipment and repairs and have had to yield to the demands of employees who declared they could not keep a family on a street car man's wages. Some roads in the past, in order to gain their franchises, or right of way, or other special privileges, have issued stock to politicians or to favored individuals that was not backed by capital invested in the company. This is called "watered stock." When a company tries to pay dividends on this stock without having any capital earning money for them, it of course suffers a dead loss.

The automobile — the jitney bus and the family car — also has harmed the street railway. When roads, to make up the loss, raised their fares, they made people walk or buy more autos, for the public seems to have a firm conviction that a nickel is enough to pay for a street-car ride, especially for a short distance. No good solution for this problem has yet been found. We really need the street car, yet we must not expect people to operate it for charity. Besides, we want the tracks kept smooth and the cars clean and modern, so that we may feel safe when riding in them. Some kind of co-operation with the city government almost amounting to municipal ownership or responsibility for operation has been proposed as the remedy. Even in New York City this appears to be the most practical way out.

What local railway problems has your community or a neighboring one had to meet? If you are not served by a street railway, do you think a line in your neighborhood would pay? Why?

109. The Highway. — The making of good roads was the very earliest and is almost the newest problem in transportation. The Romans were about the best road builders of whom we have record. From the present condition of many of our roads we may judge that we could still learn something from them. But we cannot today make a fair comparison with Roman roads because our roads must carry so much more

heavy traffic. For a long time, however, we had the worst roads of any modern civilized nation.

But who should build our highways? Whether the national government has the constitutional right to construct this kind of "internal improvements" was one of the earliest arguments between the "broad constructionists" and "strict constructionists." The first national road was the Cumberland Road, started in 1806, but after a few years "strict construction" prevailed on this point, and for a long time no federal money was spent for this purpose. Many "turnpikes" were built by private enterprise, on most of which the traveler had to pay toll. Some of such toll roads and bridges still exist, but most of them have been set free.

Now that we have abandoned so largely our scruples on strict construction, there is a tendency for the federal government again to take an interest in road building. Good roads are distinctly a national need, for almost everything used in any part of the nation is at some stage in its production carried on a highway. For this reason the public at large feels a keen interest in the coast-to-coast and lake-to-gulf highways, constructed or proposed. There is a Bureau of Public Roads in the Department of Agriculture, which makes all kinds of experiments in road construction and which has charge of the rendering of federal aid to the states in road building. The Federal Aid Road Bill, passed in 1916, provided for the distribution of \$75,000,000 among the states for highway work. The amount for each state was decided by its population, area, and the extent of rural mail routes. To get this money each state must furnish an amount equal to what the federal government gives it, and must have some sort of state highway commission with which the federal government can co-operate. Congress has indicated a tendency to make this federal aid policy permanent.

New Jersey in 1891 was the first state to put its highways under state supervision, but now every state has some kind of State Highway Department. Several states have an ex-

tensive system of state highways built with state money and cared for by the state. Of the eastern states, New York and Massachusetts, and in the West, California, are especially noted for their state roads. The money used by the states for road construction is usually obtained by selling bonds. Several hundred million dollars, all told, have been borrowed



Courtesy Portland Cement Association.

A FINE RURAL HIGHWAY.

This concrete road in Cook County, Illinois, is an example of what may be done almost anywhere. Highways such as this mean much to the farmer in both the business and the social side of his interests.

by states for this purpose in recent years. This is a practice often overdone. When money is borrowed at high rates for long periods the total amount paid for the roads will be much greater than the amount necessary if it were paid out of current funds instead of being borrowed. In addition taxes will have to be levied to keep the road in repair. Then if the road is not well constructed it may be worn out long before the bonds are paid off. Some think that a large part of the

cost of all highways should be collected from property owners whose property has been improved in value by reason of the construction of the roads.

The subdivisions of the state — counties, cities, and townships — inevitably must always play the biggest part in road construction. Several states, in fact, have deliberately chosen to do their part in highway work by aiding and co-operating with local highway authorities.

What is your state's policy in regard to highway construction? Is your state noted for good roads? If not, why? Why has there been a tendency for governments to buy up and set free toll roads and bridges? What materials are most commonly used in your neighborhood for roads? Is there any difficulty in convincing people in your neighborhood that good roads are a good investment?

Nothing has done so much to wake up people to the need of improvements in roads as the automobile. Today over 10,000,000 of them are owned in the United States. They already play a wonderful part in the commercial and industrial work of our country. Farmers use them to bring their produce to the markets and to drive for pleasure. The city man also has his pleasure car and his trucks and wagons for all kinds of industries and businesses. Motor trucks have even served in part as a substitute for railroad transportation, especially during the Great War. The damage done to highways by heavy trucks has brought about some serious practical problems, but there is no doubt that trucks will be more and more useful industrially as time goes on.

Should motor transportation supplement, or compete with, railroad transportation?

110. Traffic in the Air. — Some one has predicted that fifty years from today, we shall need traffic "cops," not in the streets but in the air. Maybe this is an exaggeration, but nevertheless this latest thing in transportation has wonderful possibilities. Thus far, outside of its uses in war — and this it has made more horrible than ever, it has served principally in three ways: transporting mail, moving urgently

needed light goods, and carrying passengers over long distances.

Its great advantages are speed and freedom from the delays due to surface conditions on the earth ; but before its use can become general three obstacles will have to be overcome : lack of knowledge about conditions of air and weather, weaknesses in the structure of the planes, and lack of proper facilities for starting and landing. In this latter case, for instance,



A CURTISS EAGLE AIRPLANE.

Courtesy Air Service.

if passengers and freight can be landed only at considerable distances outside of large business centers, the advantage of fast time between cities will be largely neutralized.

Already in Germany, it is said, schedules are maintained as regularly on some air routes as on surface lines, and in our own country the air mail carriers operate closely on time. No doubt the time will come when New Yorkers will as naturally take the air sleeper to Chicago as they now travel in a Pullman to Pittsburgh or Washington, and when all kinds of light perishable freight will be carried in that way. But how soon ?

Already, too, air traffic regulations are actually being considered. A falling airplane may menace the lives of people below as well as of those on board. Must regular routes be established and observed, and should aircraft be forced to go around thickly settled communities rather than over them? Will air traffic relieve the congestion on the railroads and highways? Only the future can answer these questions.

111. Our Means of Communication. — Communication and transportation must go hand in hand in our business and social life. Transportation is, of course, the transfer of materials or persons from one place to another, and communication is the transfer of thoughts or ideas from one person to another. Talking, writing, and signaling have been used for centuries, but methods of exchanging ideas quickly over great distances are very modern.

Usually we employ different agencies for the two types of service, but the post office engages in both. Yet the paths of transportation and communication cross frequently. The railway or the steamer carries our letters to their destination. On the other hand, the wireless speeds the S.O.S. of a distressed ship and the telegraph gives warning from one station to another that a train is approaching.

Today the Post Office Department, directed by the Postmaster General, is the most extensive business carried on by the government. In 1790, when the United States was just starting business, we had 75 post offices; now there are over 50,000, and about 25,000 more were made unnecessary when rural delivery routes were established. The Parcel Post and Postal Savings system were taken up only as side lines, but have become very important. The former offers a cheap, safe way to send small packages. The Postal Savings system enables one to deposit money with Uncle Sam, the safest banker in the world. He pays 2½ per cent interest, and will accept any amount up to \$2500. Of course, he lends it

out again at a higher rate, but many will trust him who would even be suspicious of the banks to whom he trusts it. We must not forget, either, the business service rendered by the issuing of money orders, or the world coöperation that is promoted by the union of the nations in the Universal Postal Union, so that each exchanges mail regularly with the others.

The rural free delivery service, started in 1896, was an exceedingly valuable improvement. This and other postal services are expensive, but the department is not run for profit, though it sometimes shows a surplus at the end of a year. In connection with public utilities we usually have to choose between a government agency which may be operated at a loss and force us to make up deficits through taxes, and private agencies conducted for profit which get all they can out of us. Our other agencies of communication are privately managed, though during the war the government for a time took charge of nearly all it could get hold of.

Need we enlarge upon the industrial and political importance of the telegraph, which we owe to Samuel F. B. Morse? As a bond of union to our nation it means almost as much as the railroad, for when people can communicate with one another in a flash, it is only one degree less satisfactory than talking with them. Humanity became indebted to Cyrus W. Field, too, who successfully adapted this means of communication to transoceanic use in 1866, after two earlier discouraging attempts. Many lines have since been laid across the ocean's bed. The telegraph and cable are the veritable arteries of life to the modern newspaper.

Can we imagine what the business men or the up-to-date farmer or housewife would do without the telephone? Yet it was as late as 1876 when Alexander Graham Bell showed his telephone at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Now, for a sufficient consideration, we can talk across the continent. Perhaps the wireless telegraph and telephone are even more wonderful and have greater possibilities for development. Marconi, their inventor, received his first patent in

England in 1896; now hundreds of high school boys own wireless instruments. One of the greatest services of the wireless is on boats at sea. It has saved thousands of lives and makes ocean travel much safer. Its greatest drawback is the lack of privacy, but no doubt inventors will perfect apparatus to limit wireless conversations to the people who are



Courtesy Bureau Construction and Repair.

LEARNING TO USE THE WIRELESS.

These are sailors on the *North Dakota*.

concerned. All our conveniences for communication seem like necessities to prosperous modern business.

112. The Farmer's Problem.— Perhaps we think too much about transportation and communication in terms of the business man's or city resident's needs. Yet they are vital to the farmer. And through their effect on him everybody is affected, for the farmer feeds the nation.

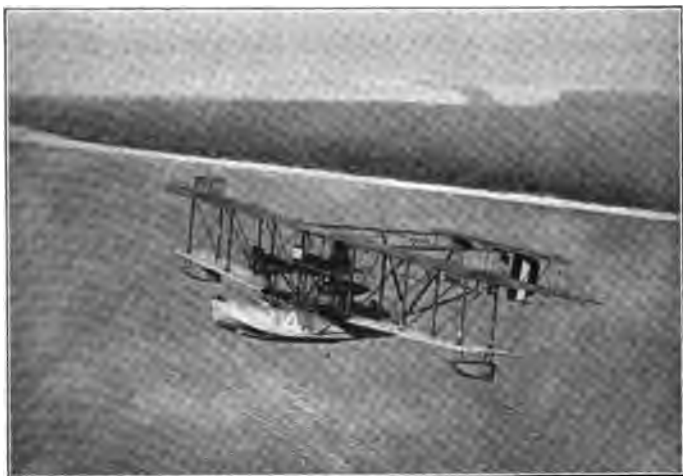
Isolation, lack of convenience of access to community

centers, and difficulty of marketing goods are perhaps the three greatest drawbacks to prosperous farming. The farmer who is cut off from knowledge of the world about him cannot plan his own work wisely, cannot supply the world's demands intelligently, and cannot keep pace with civilization in knowledge or in the joy of living. Of what use are attractive churches and fine consolidated schools if half the year you can hardly get there? How can the farmer hope to find a ready market for his products if he cannot get them to customers until they are half spoiled or only at such cost as to make it unprofitable to him or beyond the reach of the average customer? It has been said that our annual "mud tax" — the commercial loss due to poor roads — is at least \$250,000,000.

Can these evils be remedied? Yes! Good concrete roads cost money but they repay their cost many times. The telephone keeps open a constant avenue of contact with one's neighbors or the nearest town. The motor truck and the pleasure car take the farmer's goods to market speedily and in fresh condition, and the farmer's family to everything that is "doing" in a social way. They make the rural church, grange, and school as efficient as anything of the kind in the city. The interurban trolley gives many a rural district quick service for passengers and freight. The rural mail delivery brings the daily paper and social or business correspondence almost to the farmer's door. The parcel post has in some sections become of great significance in furnishing quick delivery of farm products and in bringing goods from town that the farmer needs.

The up-to-date farmer is getting these conveniences. Agricultural states such as South Dakota and Nebraska have more automobiles in proportion to population than any others. Iowa has the largest proportion of telephones. Extend these facilities for keeping in touch with the world to every rural neighborhood, and we shall find not only the farmer but the whole nation happier and far more prosperous.

113. Who Shall Do This Work ? — Who shall do the work of serving the public through the various means of transportation and communication? Certainly those whose management can display the greatest economy, the best service, and the wisest administration. At least four classes of people are directly interested in this problem, each of whom may look at it from a different angle: (1) the managers and executives, who have the responsibility for mapping out poli-



Courtesy Air Service.

THE NC-4 IN FLIGHT.

This was the first American airplane to cross the Atlantic. It took a roundabout route by way of the Azores Islands.

cies and programs and making them succeed ; (2) the employees, whose labor obtains their bread and butter and who are acquiring a constantly increasing sense of their own importance in the business ; (3) the investors, who bought stock when the enterprise was started or have loaned money through the purchase of bonds, and whose concern is in getting returns from their investments ; and (4) the public, who make these utilities possible by paying for the use of them, and who have

allowed themselves to become almost wholly dependent on them for comfort and happiness.

Three possible methods of management are available : (1) to look upon the business of transportation and communication as upon any ordinary business enterprise and leave it for private initiative and operation ; (2) to think of it as primarily private business, but to keep it under careful public supervision ; (3) to include it as a function of the government. The first and third groups of interested parties would probably prefer the first-mentioned method of management ; but the fourth group, the public, by far the largest group of all, has learned to depend so utterly upon some of these utilities that it will never agree to leave them wholly in private hands to be managed with no other thought than the profits of private citizens. Besides, we have already pointed out that most public utilities are under obligation to national state or local governments because they have received grants of land or franchises from these governments. Further, they are often given the right of eminent domain, and very often their location is such as to make them monopolies (§§142-146).

Our choice, then, must fall upon either the second or third of the above propositions. We will reserve until later (§147) the argument for and against public ownership. Suffice it to say here that the welfare of *all* the people must have first consideration in such matters as these, and that the proper policy is still an undecided question. Perhaps just now we need an open mind upon it as much as anything else.

What would be the probable attitude of each of the four interested groups toward each of the three propositions for management? Why? Is any one of the four groups likely to approach the question in a wholly impartial manner?

∴ Modern industry and social life would perish without elaborate transportation facilities. Each of the many forms, even the slowest, can render great service. The public welfare requires that these agencies should no longer be considered of purely private concern, and warrants extensive governmental interest and supervision.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Highway Construction, Ancient and Modern.
American Canals.
The Development of Railroad Equipment.
The Growth of Railway Systems.
Railroad Kings.
Local Problems in Transportation.
Street Railway Costs and Fares.
The Horseless Carriage.
Accomplishment and Prospect in Air Traffic.
The Story of Our Post Office.
The History of American Telegraphy.
Transportation as a Factor in American History.
The Telephone and Its Services.
Wireless Wonders.
Inventors That Have Aided Transportation and Communication
The Country Road.
National Highways.

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B. Conveniences For Conducting Trade

To carry goods from the place where they are made to the place where they are wanted is an accomplishment greatly worth while. But we must have some arrangement by which the title to and possession of these goods can pass from one person to another. Here is where the process which we call exchange occurs. What conveniences has man developed for this purpose? How has he endeavored to safeguard them from abuse?

114. **Money and What It Does.** — When a small boy swaps a bean shooter for six marbles, he engages in the oldest and simplest kind of trade, known as *barter*. But its simplicity does not make it practicable on a large scale. A tailor may have a coat and want to exchange it for a pair of shoes, but if he can not find a shoemaker who wants a coat, he is "out of luck." And so men have had to find some substance or commodity that all would accept in exchange for the goods they had to dispose of.

Money may therefore be defined as any commodity generally accepted in exchange for goods or services. It performs at least four functions.

(1) It serves as a *medium of exchange*. It abolishes the inconvenience of barter. If you do not have the thing I want, after I have worked for you, you can give me money and with it I can obtain my wishes from somebody else.

(2) It is a *measure of value*. We speak, for instance, of a "five-dollar hat." With a dollar or some other money standard we can estimate the exchange value of anything, and compare it with our income or with any other thing. Value in use cannot, of course, be measured in money, for almost any article would be far less useful to one person than another.

(3) It serves as a *standard for future payment*. Money is likely to have about the same value a year from now as it has today. We can therefore make a trade on today's market and defer payment until a time suitable to both parties to the trade, whereas barter would require the actual and usually the immediate exchange of articles.

(4) *It makes savings possible.* A dealer in milk could not hope to store up something for his old age, if there were no money. But as it is, he can sell his milk and save the money. A hundred hats saved up would be of little use to an old man, but the money received from their sale might help him very greatly. Without money or something that represents money, civilization and progress would be almost impossible. There would be little commerce. Men could be paid for services only by giving them goods or exchanging other services. Large scale production would be absolutely out of the question.

To what extent is barter carried on today? If a community produced everything its people needed, would money be required?

115. Materials That Are Good for Money. — Only a few commodities are really serviceable for money, for a commodity must possess several qualities at the same time if everybody is to be willing to accept it. Some of the qualities necessary for a good medium of exchange are these:

(1) *Value in itself.* — One can hardly be expected to accept something in exchange for any service or valuable article if this medium of exchange is worthless.

(2) *Portability.* — For convenience, it must neither be very large and heavy, nor too small and easy to lose.

(3) *Durability.* — It must not wear out, even with frequent use.

(4) *Homogeneity.* — The substance should be such that whatever part of it is used will have the same qualities as every other part.

(5) *Divisibility.* — We should be able to use different amounts of it to represent various values.

(6) *Stability.* — To be a standard by which other things are measured, money itself must not change in value during any short period.

(7) *Cognizability.* — It should be easily distinguished from other articles, and hard to counterfeit.

There are three ways in which an article may become money, other than by common consent and general usage: (1) when the government will redeem it for something of value; (2) when the government will accept it in payment for taxes and duties; (3) when the government declares it "legal tender" and compels its acceptance. The last method usually causes a rise in prices, since people distrust and resent force in establishing their measure of value.

The Indians used wampum, the Spartans iron, certain Africans salt, other ancient people oxen, for money. What desirable qualities did any of these commodities possess or lack? How would aluminum serve? Marble? Mahogany? Tin? To what extent do gold and silver possess the desirable qualities? To what extent are these qualities enhanced by the process of coining? Why is it best that the government, rather than private citizens, should provide money?

116. American Coinage Laws. — During much of the history of our country there has been a continuous struggle for a sound national currency. The Constitution of the United States contained three provisions relating to this matter. In designating the powers of Congress, it mentions: "To coin money, . . . and fix the standards of weights and measures"; "To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States"; besides: "No state shall . . . coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." The regulation of currency is therefore a purely national problem and is wholly placed in the hands of the national government.

In 1792 the first national mint was established at Philadelphia. It issued coins on the admirable decimal system recommended by Thomas Jefferson in 1784 — the system which is still employed by the United States. A double standard was adopted and 15 ounces of silver were declared equal to 1 ounce of gold. Coinage of both metals was made free and unlimited — that is, any person having the bullion

could have it coined at the mint with no charge except for the work of coinage. In 1834 the ratio was changed to about 16 to 1. So the law remained till 1873, when a new coinage act was passed which dropped the silver dollar from the list of coins.

From this time on a bitter fight was waged over the question of monometallism or bimetallism. Should our country



WEIGHING GOLD AT THE ASSAY OFFICE.

International

Gold bars when imported or purchased from the mines are weighed with great care and exactness.

use just one metal as the standard of its currency, or have a double standard, both gold and silver? It seems almost self-evident that to keep gold and silver at the same relative value with each other would be a task differing only in degree from trying to establish an unchanging ratio between gold and potatoes. By a principle known as Gresham's law, if two kinds of money are in circulation and one is really worth less as bullion than it is for coinage, the less valuable money

will be used and the other will be hoarded and withdrawn from circulation.

Other civilized nations adopted gold as the single standard of their currency systems; and finally, in 1900, our Congress passed an act which declared the gold dollar to be the standard unit of value and its standard weight to be 23.22 grains, plus the necessary alloy. This dollar is not coined because it would be very small and therefore quite easily lost.

By this act the legal tender quality of the silver dollar remained undisturbed, and though for several years none were coined, there are yet many of these "cartwheels" in circulation and many millions more stored in the keeping of the Treasury Department. For small silver coins, as for the "nickels" and cents, the government buys in the open market the metal which it needs.

Why should the national government, rather than the states, control our currency? What considerations should determine the denominations of our coins and the number minted of each denomination? May five-cent pieces, for example, be more useful in one section of the country than another? Why do we no longer have two-cent and three-cent pieces?

117. *Substitutes for Coin.* — You might naturally wonder, in reading a long list of qualities desirable in money, how we can possibly have paper money. We have five or six kinds of paper money, which are really only promises to pay, and not money at all. But they have in a high degree some of its desirable qualities. Since gold and silver are not convenient to carry about in very large quantities, paper supplies the need for portable money. Besides, if all our currency had to be coin, it would make too severe a drain on our stock of precious metals. The value of the gold in all the world is probably not over \$11,000,000,000.

Gold certificates represent gold coin or bullion in the treasury of the United States. *Silver certificates* represent silver coin in the treasury. The *United States notes* are the "greenbacks," first issued in the Civil War period. They

were made *legal tender*, that is, any person must accept them in payment of a debt; but they are nothing more than Uncle Sam's promise to pay, for while a certain amount of gold is kept in "reserve" to back them up, it is less than half the amount of notes in circulation. *National bank notes* are issued by individual national banks and were originally based on government bonds held by the banks. *Federal Reserve notes* and *Federal Reserve bank notes* are issued by Federal



A STATE BANK NOTE.

In principle there is no difference between the note shown above and a United States Note or a Federal Reserve Note, for they all promise to pay. But the State Bank Note was only as good as the credit of that particular bank, while the others have the credit of the United States back of them. After our national bank system was created in 1863, it was deemed wise to get rid of these state bank notes. So a law was passed in 1865, putting so high a tax on them that it became unprofitable for State banks to issue them.

Reserve Banks on the basis of bonds and other commercial securities held by these banks (§ 120).

While only United States notes are legal tender, we accept all paper money with equal satisfaction, because it is all backed either by actual funds or by the government's word and is usually readily exchangeable for coin if we want it.

Do we like to take foreign paper money in this country? Why? What customs prevail in different sections in regard to foreign coin? How far does paper money fail to fulfill the desired standards of money? Why not quit coining money, and let the government issue legal tender paper money instead?

The different forms of credit are also substitutes for coin as well as for paper money. But this topic is so important that it deserves to be treated by itself.

118. Credit and Its Uses. — Probably ninety-five per cent of the business of the country, in amount, is done by the use of credit. And what is *credit*? It is the giving or receiving of a promise to pay in place of immediate money payment. Our modern business is virtually built on credit. Here are some of its uses:

(1) It offers convenience and safety in business. People do not like to carry large sums of money with them. Credit enables them to make trades without any transfer of actual money.

(2) It encourages commercial transactions between people in different parts of the country and of the world. Such trade would be almost impossible if money had to be transported for long distances. With it we can do business in London or Tokio almost as conveniently as with the corner grocery.

(3) It encourages business activity by making possible many enterprises that could not be undertaken if money had to be used. Banks, great corporations, department stores, or public works could hardly be carried on without the use of credit.

(4) It increases the number of business transactions. Many people will buy more on credit than they would if they had to pay actual cash for it. Department stores and other establishments realize this fact and extend credit to a great many people.

(5) It economizes the precious metals. Credit makes it unnecessary to use so much gold and silver for money, and saves it for other purposes.

(6) It encourages savings and investments by people who can lay by only a small sum at one time and would be afraid or unable to invest it profitably. Credit makes it possible to collect these small savings and through a bank or similar agency put it to work profitably.

The forms of commercial paper used in giving or receiving credit are known as credit instruments.

- (1) *Book credit* calls for the keeping of "charge accounts" in stores or other commercial institutions. It means little more than a deferment of payment for a short time.
- (2) A *check* is a written order directing a bank in which a person has money to pay a stipulated sum to some person or to his order.
- (3) A *draft* is much like a check except that it may be drawn on a firm or individual with which a person has a regular business account, as well as on a bank, and often specifies a date for payment.
- (4) A *bill of exchange* is written on the same principle as a draft, but is generally more complicated in form, and made out in triplicate, for safety. It is commonly used in transactions between people in different countries.
- (5) A *promissory note* is a written agreement to pay money at a certain time, together with the amount of interest specified in the note.
- (6) The *trade acceptance* is now a common credit instrument. This is virtually an order to a person or firm that has bought goods, telling him to pay to some bank at a particular time the price of the orders. The buyer "accepts" it by writing the proper indorsement across the face of the order. Then the seller can have it discounted at his bank as if it were a note, and the bank will call upon the buyer's bank for payment at the proper time.

If we were trying to list all the forms of credit we should have to include post office and express money orders, traveler's checks, and the like. Stocks and bonds also are certificates that represent money invested in or loaned to a corporation. Naturally a person cannot be compelled to accept any of these substitutes for money, but business men often prefer to use them.

What particular advantages attend the use of each of the forms of credit instruments mentioned here?

119. The Services of Banks. — There is almost no limit to the services banks can render to a community. They are a sort of universal middle man, giving assistance to any and every sound financial enterprise. They may even make or ruin a man's fortune by helping or refusing to help him at a time when he is in financial straits. They are a balance wheel

for the business world. If a community's banks are not sound, its prospects for prosperity are slight.

In one sense a bank is simply a corporation engaged in the business of handling money. Its management is in part like that of any corporation (§ 137). *National* banks are chartered and inspected by the national government, *state* banks by the state government. *Trust companies* look after estates and investments in addition to their general banking business. The chief services of banking institutions are the following :

(1) Banks receive money and other valuables and keep them safe. This was the first purpose for which banks were founded.

(2) They lend money and credit, charging interest for the time that the loan is made use of. By lending credit we mean allowing a person to receive a certain amount on his checking account instead of in cash. Of course he pays interest the same as if he actually received money.

(3) They discount notes, drafts, and trade acceptances. If a person wishes cash on any one of these before it is due, he virtually sells it to a bank, which gives him the face value less the interest up to the time it is due. When that time comes, it collects the amount from the one who owes it.

(4) They keep a checking department, sometimes paying a small interest on amounts left in it under certain conditions. This is of enormous service to the business world and to many other people who use it for practically all payments except the very smallest.

(5) Some banks maintain a savings department, in which deposits are expected to be kept for a relatively long period and on which four per cent interest, perhaps, is paid. Some institutions do this kind of business and no other, lending out their deposits on real estate mortgages and in other safe ways for a longer time than the regular commercial bank can wisely do it.

The bank is really the agency that makes the use of credit possible. It facilitates the use of every kind of credit instru-

ment and is particularly serviceable in bringing together small savings so that they can be turned to profitable investment. Its work deserves both the strictest safeguards and high appreciation.

In how many ways have you or your family ever made use of a bank? Should banks be made a direct branch of the government, instead of merely being supervised by national or state agents? How can banks help or hinder the solution of housing and the local problems?

120. The Federal Banking System. — If banks mean so much to the country's finances, they should be so correlated and administered as to serve the whole country's welfare. Our coinage and currency system was formerly so organized that just when business men needed to have money in circulation it showed a tendency to tie itself up and throw the country into a financial panic. Our business relations are so complex that disaster to one firm may bring disaster to another. Why not, then, so organize our financial system as to encourage coöperation at all times, particularly in times of stress, and thus avert misfortune?

For such a purpose the Federal Reserve system was established in 1913 by the Glass-Owen Act. The country is divided into twelve districts, each having a Federal Reserve Bank in an important city. Each of these has branches in other important cities of its district. At the head of the system is a board of eight men, including the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency, and six others appointed by the President for ten-year terms.

Each Reserve Bank also has a Board of Directors of nine members, three appointed by the Federal Reserve Board and six elected by the banks in the district. Reserve banks carry on business only with local banks; they are a bank for banks, rendering about the same kind of service to them that the local bank does for individuals. All national banks are compelled to join the system; state banks may join, and almost all of them have done so. Each member bank must sub-

scribe to the stock of its Reserve Bank and deposit with it a certain amount of government bonds. In return they are given Federal Reserve currency, and offered whatever conveniences and service may be wise and suitable. The Federal Reserve system has been of great service to the nation. In spite of the Great War and the subsequent "hard times," it kept the nation's financial system safe and sound.

We must not confuse the Federal Reserve system with the Federal Farm Loan system. Under the latter also the country is divided into twelve districts with a central bank in each, but the boundaries of the districts are not the same, nor are the banks in the same cities as the Reserve banks, with one exception.

The object of the Farm Loan system was to give the farmer the same financial advantages as the city man. Before it was started it was hard for him to get money. City banks would not lend it readily, money "sharps" tried to cheat him, and our most important industry, food-raising, was in danger of bankruptcy. The Farm Loan banks do business through farm loan associations, which may be formed by any ten farmers in any district for the purpose of borrowing money. Through these associations loans are obtained by members for not less than five years, and may be taken to the extent of fifty per cent of the value of the farmer's property. If his property is already mortgaged he may get this money only if he immediately pays off the mortgage with it. In the first eight months nearly \$30,000,000 was loaned, in two years and eight months one-third of a billion! They have surely made good.

In which federal reserve district is your community? Where is your reserve bank situated? Do people in your neighborhood make any use of the farm loan banks? How much good have those banks done?

121. Credit and Caution. — Credit is so useful that we must take care that it is not used wrongly. People sometimes abuse credit, for example, by overdrawing their accounts at

banks. It is generally a sign of carelessness, or worse, when a check comes back marked "N. S. F." Book credit, too, encourages some people to be extravagant. They buy a great deal more when they can say "charge it" than if they had to pay cash. Stock gambling, such as occurs when people buy and sell on "margins," paying down only a small fraction of the value of the stock, is another misuse of credit. When a corporation issues "watered stock," which does not represent any additional capital put into the business, but on which it expects to pay dividends, we have still another abuse.

A valuable service is rendered by such agencies as Dun and Bradstreet, who prepare lists of persons or firms with a financial rating corresponding to their soundness or promptness in meeting their obligations. It is worth while for a business man to be rated high in their lists, for then he will seldom meet with difficulty when he asks for credit.



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IN NEW YORK'S FINANCIAL DISTRICT.

We are looking up Broad Street toward Wall Street. A corner of the United States Treasury building is visible at the upper end of the street. The crowd in the street are curb brokers who are engaged in buying and selling stocks not sold in the Stock Exchange. The curb brokers now carry on their operations in a building of their own some little distance away.

Is a person ever excusable for overdrawing his checking account? Does your state consider such an act a crime? Why do some people have everything charged which they buy? Would an honest man or firm ever be given a low rating by Dun or Bradstreet? Are all business failures due to dishonesty?

Even banks sometimes go wrong in the use of credit. Bank officials may use poor judgment in making a loan and rarely a dishonest person may get the better of them. In lending their credit, banks may be tempted to go too far. It is so easy to make profits this way, that they sometimes tie up too much in such loans, and get into difficulty when demands are made for the withdrawal of a large amount. But banks endeavor to play safe, for their depositors and for themselves. When a person deposits money, the sum is entered in his bank book. But national and state laws provide that depositors shall be paid, in case of failure, before anything else is paid. Stockholders may be assessed, if necessary, for this purpose. In six states¹ the state government has guaranteed the security of funds deposited in state banks. But some believe that such a practice would do harm by making banks less careful in handling their business. Inspectors, state or national, as the case may be, visit banks at irregular intervals, and statements of a bank's financial condition are published in the newspapers, so that everybody may know about it.

Study one of these bank statements and familiarize yourself with the meaning of its various items.

On the other hand, the bank protects itself by requiring identification before it will cash checks or give out money. When banks lend money, they demand that a person shall offer as assurance of payment some kind of security that will more than cover the amount of the loan. The board of directors usually agree upon any loan that is to be made. Loans are for short periods — 30, 60, or 90 days, or on "call" —

¹Oklahoma, Nebraska, Kansas, Mississippi, South Dakota, and Washington.

in order that no money will be tied up for any great length of time, and the intention is to arrange the times when they are to be repaid so that the bank's funds will be reasonably constant. Often when promissory notes are accepted, the bank requires the indorsement of other reliable people in addition to the signer. Then if necessary it can call upon the indorsers to make the note good.

A bank always keeps a part of its deposits as "reserves." Of course that is not enough to repay all its deposits, but it is more than is likely to be called for at any one time. If a bank has been honestly and wisely managed, its neighbor banks will usually help it out when a "run" is started upon it without reason. It would be hard to find a safer place for money than the bank.

For their own convenience, the banks in each large city have established a clearing house. This is an institution in which returns from all banks in a city are gathered every business day. The checks and drafts on various banks are sorted and sent to the bank on which they are drawn, and accounts are balanced up very easily. This does away with the endless confusion that would result if each bank tried to settle accounts every day with every other bank. In 1920, accounts amounting to \$463,000,000,000 passed through all the clearing houses. This was sixty times as much money as there was then in the United States. The local clearing house also gives financial help at times to banks that have met with a little temporary difficulty but are really sound.

If your community has a clearing house, where is it located? If it has none, find out how your local banks get the work done which a clearing house would do.

122. Hard Times in Business. — The biggest factor in the use of credit is confidence. If everybody could and did trust everybody else, we should have few financial troubles. But as soon as a business man is in trouble or people think he is going to be, things begin. Nobody knows who is going to fail next, and everybody is worried. If one large borrower fails

to repay what he owes a bank, the bank may not be able to pay back its depositors and may close its doors. News of this misfortune may cause a run on some other bank and work up a great deal of excitement. People try to get hold of all the money they can without letting any of it out of their possession. Naturally this "panic" causes currency to become scarce, and people have neither cash nor credit. Somewhat similar conditions may exist in an "industrial depression," but this is a period when there is a general slow-down of production because of inability to dispose of goods, rather than because of a sudden collapse of confidence.

But why do these things happen? "Overproduction," say some — that is, producers have got more goods ready for market than buyers will take. But others declare that while there may be disproportionate production, there is no such thing as overproduction in all lines at once. Some have argued that a period of disturbance is likely to come about every twenty years. Such "periodicity" has been the case in our history, but it seems foolish to think we cannot help it.

There is no doubt that speculation has bad results. It draws money from established business and puts an overabundance in new industries. Unwise railroad building and land "booms" are instances of this kind of thing. Finally the bottom drops out of these ventures because there are not enough settled customers to keep them going. Then the speculators go into bankruptcy, and take some of their creditors along with them.

Wars always upset business. For a while they stimulate it unduly. Everybody is at work. Wages and prices go up. People try to keep up with the high prices without restraining their desires, until the limit of tolerance is reached. Then suddenly the public stops buying things that it does not need. Producers who failed to realize that such a time was coming are "stuck" with a supply of goods made at high cost, and are unwilling to sell them at prices that people will pay. Men are thrown out of work because there is no demand for the

goods they make, and being out of work cannot buy the goods others have to sell. Everything is tied up.

Ask your parents about some panic they remember. What were the general financial conditions?

If in any particular case of "hard times" we knew that there was one evident cause, perhaps we could remove it; but since they are often the result of a combination of factors, or a different factor each time, we hardly know what to do. Possibly, like boils, they must be allowed to run their course. We cannot stop them by legislation, because as long as people buy and sell as they wish, they will make ruinous mistakes. It is a common belief now that business conditions move in "cycles," certain changes following one another in a sort of regular order. The study of this subject has not gone far enough, however, to enable any one to predict with certainty just what is going to happen. If we could do so the bad things would not need to "happen."

It is often urged that communities shall enter upon public work of some kind to give jobs to the unemployed. This may offer temporary relief and is perhaps not so expensive as outright charity, but unnecessary public expense will be felt in the taxpayer's pocket book later, to his regret. Unwise producers may have to sell their stock at a loss, to get the public into the buying mood again. A few big business men with "nerve" enough to resume production on a normal basis, in the faith that their employees will then be able to increase the demand for other goods, will probably have to assume the responsibility and the credit of getting the wheels of industry running smoothly.

As preventive measures, about all we can do is to encourage business methods that are at once enterprising and safe, and insist upon the most careful use of credit instruments. Unless business men use good judgment and produce according to a real, not an artificial, demand, unless speculation can be curbed, and credit used with caution, we can hardly hope to escape business depressions.

∴ Money is a most valuable servant, but must be handled with care. Credit, its substitute, is even more useful and liable to abuse. Governments must do everything possible to safeguard the use of these conveniences; but the greatest responsibility rests upon the individual buyers and sellers, for governments cannot put brains or common sense into people's heads.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Trade Among Primitive Peoples.
 Medieval Methods of Exchange.
 The Bank of England.
 The Early National Banks.
 The History of American Coinage.
 American Paper Currency.
 The Management of a Modern Bank.
 The Stock Exchange.
 Panics and Business Depressions in Our History.

REFERENCE READINGS

Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapters 24-26.
 Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 34-36.
 Laing — Introduction to Economics, Chapters 13-19.
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 Holdsworth — Money and Banking.
 Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 34
 Adams — Description of Industry, Chapters 8-12.
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 Lessons in Community and National Life, A-21, A-22, A-23, C-21,
 C-22, C-23, C-24.

C. Trading with Other Countries

It is plain enough that men obtain advantages by exchanging goods with their neighbors, but why go to the bother of carrying goods thousands of miles over mountains and oceans? Why should not each nation look out for its own needs?

123. Why Foreign Trade Takes Place. — Why shouldn't it? Nations are only groups of individuals, after all. Can they not trade between groups for the same reasons that they trade as individuals? Individuals trade both to get some-

thing they want and to dispose of a surplus of something they have produced.

Various regions are especially suited by location or resources to produce some goods better and cheaper than others can produce them. It is merely sensible, then, to practice division of labor on a national scale. No country is so versatile that it can produce to advantage everything it desires to use. England could not possibly raise all the food her people need today. Trade is her life-blood. The United States could perhaps exist without foreign trade, but from what source would come our tea, coffee, or sugar? Every cent we might spend to raise tea or coffee would be taken out of a possible investment in a productive enterprise for which the Creator gave us some natural fitness. Both necessity and common sense urge trade between nations.

Find the most recent statistics about the imports and exports of the United States and other countries, and decide why this trade occurs. How did Germany hope to win the Great War?

Foreign trade has another vastly important feature. It establishes and promotes friendly relations between countries. Nations will hesitate about breaking intercourse with peoples who are good customers or upon whom they themselves depend. Trade promotes general knowledge of and acquaintance with other nations, and these encourage world peace and progress.

Backward, disorderly countries are sometimes sobered by the cutting off of foreign trade with them. International competition also has some good effects. The "Made in Germany" which we used to see so often could hardly fail to urge manufacturers elsewhere to make "Made in U. S. A." or "Made in Great Britain" mean at least as much.

124. Special Difficulties. — Trade between nations, however, often has to overcome certain handicaps that do not hamper domestic trade. In the first place the very distances to be traversed are often a hindrance. Between New York and Canada it is no harder physically to exchange goods than

between New York and Connecticut, but much foreign commerce must travel thousands of miles. Besides, the crossing of political boundaries causes inconvenience. Every nation has customs laws and various forms of "red tape" which must be observed when goods are brought into its territory. If, in addition, nations impose high tariffs upon foreign goods, trade with them must inevitably suffer limitations.



A PART OF THE WATERFRONT OF NEW YORK CITY.

Observe the long rows of piers and docks which line both sides of the Hudson. The commerce which centers here is the most extensive of any city in the world.

National jealousies and race hatred also play too great a part in foreign trade as in other foreign relations.

Further, nations have different money standards. In times of normal peace, this fact complicates the matter of making payments between them, and in times of disturbance the ratio of exchange among these standards and between them and our dollar changes frequently. The upset caused by the Great War reduced considerably the value in our money of the friendly franc and pound, the German mark sank

far down, and the Russian ruble was reduced almost to oblivion.

Moreover, people in our country do not always understand the foibles and needs of other countries. It had been said that one reason England and Germany obtained so much more South American patronage before the War than the United States was that their agents approached South Americans in this manner: "Tell us what you want and we'll make it for you"; while American representatives virtually announced to them: "Here is our line. How much of it can we unload on you?" And the American products which were manufactured according to the demands of this country might not be what the people of South America wanted at all.

International trade has almost a science of its own, which Americans must and surely can learn better than many of us know it now. American consuls abroad ought to be thoroughly awake to the demands of the people among whom they live, and American business men who seek foreign markets for their goods should coöperate constantly with them. Perhaps such service, to be intelligently rendered, calls for more careful training than the ordinary consul possesses. We cannot expect to get the most suitable men for such positions unless they receive salaries large enough to attract good men. Congress and the public must provide the wherewithal, and the universities must furnish the men.

Is it sound judgment or good patriotism for an American to refuse today to buy German goods? Would any country handle its colonial commerce today as England did that of her colonies in the 18th century? How did England's policy at that day compare with the policy of other countries? Must a nation own a district in order to get the greatest benefit from its trade?

125. Methods of Payment. — Every nation will take gold in payment for what others owe it, and this is one way in which international debts are paid. But shipments of gold are attended with some risk, and nations have a kind of dread of letting gold get away from them if they can help it. Be-

sides, if gold had to be given in payment for all goods bought or sold between countries, there could be very little trade. There is not enough gold available to pay for the 1920 trade of the United States alone! Another method must therefore be employed.

Let us understand that we are speaking here of the commercial transactions between residents in different countries, and not of payments by the governments themselves. Suppose that the United States, as is usually the case, sells more goods to England than we buy from her. These amounts compared would show a "balance of trade" in our favor. Only this balance would need to be paid us, even if just these two countries were involved. But there are other countries concerned. For instance, we might owe Cuba a balance and Cuba might owe England. This would partly cancel what England owes us. Again, England has carried many of our goods in her ships, and that cost pays part of what she owes us for the goods she buys from us. Our tourists spend more money abroad than those from abroad spend here. That also tends to keep the balance down. But if none of these items are large enough to make up the difference in our favor, and if foreign countries cannot send us gold, and we will not buy their goods, only two possibilities remain. Investment securities held by foreigners may be turned over to us, or as a last phase of an embarrassing situation, trade between them and us may come to an end. The abnormal balance of trade in favor of this country which resulted from the War cannot be permanent.

In paying foreign accounts we note the extensive use of bills of exchange and similar instruments of credit. If a Cleveland man is paying for goods bought from a merchant in London, he will probably buy a bill of exchange from some banking firm in his city or New York and send it to the English merchant. This merchant will deposit it in his own bank, which will present it to the London banking firm on which it is drawn.

Very little money is therefore shipped between nations in comparison with the whole volume of trade. Opening new business in Shanghai or Yokohama or Buenos Aires would call for a more complex adjustment than we have outlined here, but when once a regular trade is established the process of payment becomes reasonably simple. A great many international payments are made in bills and drafts on London banking institutions, but the Great War caused much international business to center in New York which formerly was done through other financial agencies.

126. The Great War and International Trade. — A war so widespread as the recent conflict must inevitably disturb the social and industrial condition of nations. It not only took millions of men out of productive enterprise into the trenches but it had a dire effect on the finances and trade of the whole world. In the first place, it left all the nations with enormous debts — the United States with over \$24,000,000,000, France \$46,000,000,000, Great Britain \$39,000,000,000, and Germany \$55,000,000,000.

The United States government alone borrowed the equivalent of about ten per cent of its total wealth; yet, of the large nations, our debt is the lowest and we are in the best position to pay it, for we became, in spite of our big expense bill, the great "creditor" nation of the world. We had to learn to make some things hitherto brought us by other countries, and to increase our own production enough to supply Europe. Our exports increased enormously, while our imports declined. Not all these war-time changes will be lasting, of course, but we have at least learned what we can do if we must.

In practically all foreign countries money depreciated greatly in value, as we have noticed. The English pound, for example, though it changed least of European money, was worth for some time less than \$4.00. As a result the American dollar rather than the English pound became the world's standard of trade. Many of Europe's sources of

production were either neglected or laid waste, and many of her factories destroyed. Political and labor troubles, due partly to these upsets, prevented rapid return to normal conditions.

How can the world get back to "normalcy"? It never will return to conditions as they were in 1914. Hates and prejudices have been aroused which cannot be appeased at once. Some conditions we do not want to restore. Probably America can do much by extending credit to the countries that need it. Then they may ultimately be able to accumulate wealth and meet their obligations. In helping them we shall help ourselves, for they cannot pay us unless they have something to pay with.

Nothing would be of greater benefit than to have every nation in the world scrap every battleship and piece of military equipment that it did not actually need to suppress disorder and enforce the laws of peace. Then every effort could be devoted to restoring the regions laid waste by war and to striving in friendly competition to produce those things that would make the world a happier and better place to live in.

What would be the result if the United States attempted to enforce immediate payment of European war debts to us?

127. Who Shall Carry the Goods?—One result of the War which may be permanent was the notable increase of our *merchant marine*, that is, our ships engaged in commerce. But is it an advantage, after all, to carry our own foreign commerce in our own ships? That depends upon whether it costs us more to do it that way than to hire others to do it, and whether there is use for the ships in any other way than for commerce.

In most of our national history, up to 1860, American ships were in every port and on every sea. The Civil War was disastrous to this traffic. Thereafter, because of cheaper foreign competition, our rank in shipping declined rapidly, so that

when the 20th century began we were shipping about nine-tenths of our exports and imports in vessels sailing under other flags.

German submarines and the need of British vessels for war purposes made it imperative, after the Great War came on, for the United States to do something for its foreign carrying trade. Congress at length created the United States Shipping Board to become responsible for speeding up the construction of ships. Especially after the United States became a belligerent, shipbuilding became almost frenzied in its haste,



Courtesy Department of Wharves, Docks, and Ferries, Philadelphia.

FREIGHT BOATS AND BARGES ON THE DELAWARE.

extent, and recklessness of expense. Rapidly the tonnage of American ships increased until we stood a good second to Great Britain in total amount.

And yet the situation is not satisfactory. The United States government does not care to stay permanently in the business of shipbuilding or ship-operating, especially in competition with private and foreign companies. The La Follette Seaman's Act of 1911 requires a standard of wages and conditions on American vessels which makes the cost of operating them much greater than rival vessels under other

flags have to meet. Private companies therefore hesitate about taking over the Shipping Board's vessels or building their own and operating them when competition with foreign lines is a losing game. Some therefore believe that we may as well quit trying to maintain a large American merchant marine for foreign trade; yet national pride makes us unwilling to admit that foreign shipowners are too much for us.

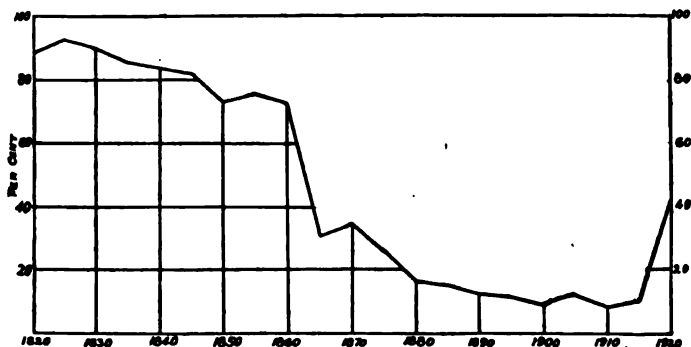
By a "ship subsidy" we mean giving money from the national treasury to help keep American shipping lines in successful operation. We did it a little once, but it did not succeed. England has done the same kind of thing repeatedly, sometimes camouflaging it under the guise of heavy payments for carrying mail. To some it seems like a special "hand-out" for the benefit of one industrial activity. President Harding strongly urged a modified form of it, but much opposition to it developed in Congress and there is at present no sign of its adoption.

In return for subsidies, it is urged, the government may demand the right to seize the ships for public use in time of war or other emergency. This would be of some advantage, it is true; but is it good business to pay large sums to a private industry merely on the supposition that it may sometime be brought into the public service? We rightly insist that American coastwise trade shall be carried on in American ships; but need we be particular about who carries our imports and exports? What do you think?

128. Tariff Barriers. — What is a *tariff*? As the term is frequently used, it signifies a tax on imported goods. Such taxes are sometimes called *customs* or *duties*. But if this is a tax problem, why throw it in here? Because any tax on exports or imports tends to limit foreign trade, and particularly if it is high, to set up a barrier against commercial intercourse among nations.

Since our Constitution forbids laying taxes on exports, we are concerned only with import taxes. Theoretically, a na-

tion could maintain absolute *free trade*, and impose no taxes at all upon goods from other countries, but nations have not found this wholly practicable. Some, like England, levy relatively low duties, in order to obtain revenue, on goods such as tea and cocoa, which must be imported anyway and which are in a sense not necessities of life. This is called a *revenue tariff*. By contrast, a *protective tariff* places a tax on goods coming into a country, on purpose to make foreign goods cost



OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE IN AMERICAN SHIPS.

That part of the chart below the curve represents the percentage of the foreign trade of the United States which was carried in American vessels. The points indicated in the breaks of the curve are five years apart. Can you offer any explanation for the great difference at various periods of our history?

to the user as much as homemade goods, or more. The importer of course adds the tax to the price which he would otherwise charge, and this added cost "protects" the manufacturer of home goods of the same kind, by making it possible for him to charge more for his own product.

The protective tariff idea makes at first thought a strong appeal to a certain type of patriotism. Yet when we inspect the arguments advanced in its favor, some of them appear superficial. Let us list side by side the views of its friends and its enemies on certain phases of the argument.

FOR

(1) The "balance of trade" argument. — It is better for a country to sell more than it buys. The protective tariff decreases the amount of goods imported, and encourages home production, so that there will be more goods to export.

(2) The "home-market" argument. — It encourages the establishment of factories which provide a home market for raw materials produced in the United States and does away with the necessity of shipping such materials abroad.

(3) The "infant industries" argument. — Some industries could never be started here unless protected from the competition of low-priced foreign goods made by cheap labor abroad.

AGAINST

(1) Nations will not forever buy from nations to which they sell little or nothing. The nation which builds a high tariff wall to keep out imports will some day find itself with only unwilling customers. Other countries will retaliate, too, with tariffs aimed at us.

(2) It is unwise and in the long run unprofitable to develop an industry in a place not readily adapted to it. Besides, the tariff helps the producer of the raw material very little, for the home manufacturer will pay only just enough to outbid the foreign buyer, anyway.

(3) Our "infants" are now full grown and no longer need protection. They are often found now competing with foreign products in foreign lands at foreign prices, which are frequently lower than they sell the same goods for in the United States. Moreover, the protective tariff encourages greed on the part of producers. They will take all they can get, whether they need it or not.

FOR

(4) The "standard of living" argument. — The American laborer desires to live better than most European laborers do, and must have higher wages. The protective tariff enables the manufacturer to pay high wages.

(5) The "anti-dumping" argument. — A protective tariff keeps the foreign producer from placing his surplus on the market here at a price much below the cost of production in this country.

(6) The "independence" argument. — The tariff makes us develop our own resources a great deal more than if we bought our goods in foreign markets. In time of war it might be ruinous to wait until new industries could develop here. When the need for supplies is greatest, it is often impossible to import them.

AGAINST

(4) Laborers in unprotected industries obtain as high wages as those engaged in protected industries. How then can protection be responsible for high wages? German workers in a "protected" country get lower wages than English workers, who are not so "protected." Besides, the protective tariff admittedly makes goods more expensive, and counteracts in this way benefit derived from higher wages resulting from any cause.

(5) No nation will be in a position to "dump" its goods in large quantities here for any great length of time. Such conditions, if they arise, can be met by temporary restrictions rather than by a permanent protective tariff.

(6) Protective tariffs promote international rivalry. These in turn cause war. Trade, unfettered, promotes understanding.

The history of the tariff has been on the whole a history of political parties. The platforms of the present Republican party have advocated "protection" from the first, while the Democrats have been opposed, sometimes to a high tariff, and sometimes to the whole protective idea. Tariffs have therefore been raised or lowered according to the party in power. It is too bad that the tariff has so often been a "political football," for it is distinctly an economic problem. Many people fail to understand that a high protective tariff does not necessarily raise a country's revenue. It may reduce it. If the duty on foreign oranges is a dollar a dozen probably no oranges will be imported and no revenue will be derived from that source. Arranging a tariff schedule is a very hard and delicate task, and it deserves most intelligent attention.

We have now a Federal Tariff Commission of six persons, appointed by the President, who must not all belong to the same party. They are supposed to make a special study of tariff conditions, and recommend changes in rates when desirable. Surely such men should be able to advise us about desirable rates better than Congressmen chosen solely on a political basis, who have had neither the interest nor the opportunity to look into the question thoroughly. Congress must enact tariff bills, of course, but it can listen to the advice of experts.

Tariffs affect both home industry and foreign trade. A nation which has had a protective tariff in some form so long as we have, would be unwise to abolish it all at once. But even so we need not attempt to defend every tariff bill that has been passed, even by our own party. It is not too early to consider seriously whether we should gradually work toward the abolition of "protection"; and if we say "no" to this proposition, to consider what features of our past and present policy deserve permanent preservation.

The Tariff Law of 1922 passed over to the President the right to adjust tariff duties to points different from

those stated in the law. The President is expected to act upon the advice of the Tariff Commission. It will be interesting to see how this experiment works. Perhaps it is the beginning of the very desirable policy of modifying rates one by one as changes may be needed, instead of overhauling an entire tariff law at one time.

Do you think there is any hope that tariff discussions may cease to follow party lines? Does a person's residence make any difference in opinions about the tariff? (Consult Congressional votes on sugar duties, and the like.) Why did the Confederate constitution forbid a protective tariff in the Confederacy?

∴ In a progressive world international trade is inevitable. It is attended with certain difficulties that make it more complicated than domestic trade. Good judgment, as well as fairness, urges us to refrain from excessive greed in attempting to sell much abroad and yet buy little or nothing.

SPECIAL STUDIES

American Exports and Imports.

European Currency Systems.

Payments of Debts between Nations.

The History of the American Merchant Marine.

American Tariff History.

The American Consular Service and Its Possibilities.

Resolved, that a subsidy should be paid to American shipping corporations engaged in foreign trade.

Resolved, that the United States should adhere permanently to the protective tariff policy.

Resolved, that the United States government should cancel all loans made by it to other governments on account of the World War.

REFERENCE READINGS

Laing — Introduction to Economics, Chapters 20-22.

Cleveland and Schafer — Democracy in Reconstruction, Chapter 19.

Burch — American Economic Life, Chapter 37.

Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapter 27.

Bogart — Economic History, Chapter 32.

Smith — Commerce and Industry, Chapters 41-46.

Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapters 18, 19.

Seager — Principles of Economics, Chapters 21, 22.

XI. DISTRIBUTING THE RETURNS FAIRLY

We have studied some of the means by which we try to produce prosperity. What returns should the factors in production receive for this work? Are they getting what they deserve?

129. What Is the Basis of Distribution? — We have explained that in the economic sense distribution means giving to each of the four factors of production (land, labor, capital, and management) a remuneration for its share in the work of production. None of the four factors are unnecessary. If all are of equal importance each should receive an equal amount. In many industries, we will admit that they are not, but the question then arises, How shall the share of each be determined? In other words, How is *bargaining power* obtained? For that is the phrase which is used to characterize the force which can be exerted to secure a return, large or small. The problem of distribution is perhaps more difficult to solve than that connected with any other phase of economic activity.

One supposition or theory assumes that each factor is in a sense competing with the other factors, and that each will get a return in proportion to the comparative value of its part in production. If land contributes one-fifth of the elements necessary to produce some commodity, one-fifth of the return will go to the landholder. If labor contributes one-half of the necessary elements or services, then it will get one-half of the returns. This is sometimes called the *productivity* theory.

The advocates of this theory admit that often the competition of the four factors is not on a free and open basis, but that some one or more may enjoy an advantage of position over the others. In that case, they say, it is the duty of society to restrain by legislation or otherwise the factors which have an

unfair advantage. Then each factor will be in a position to get a return proportioned to what it contributes. If those who contribute any factor desire a greater return than they are getting, let them increase the value or efficiency of their services, so that they may deserve a greater return.

Another theory, known as the *monopoly* theory, asserts that the return which comes to those who contribute any factor depends upon the extent to which they control the supply of that factor. If I have all the managing ability that is available for a certain industry, then I can demand virtually what I will, so far as that industry is concerned. Those who contribute the other factors will be able to compete with me only to the extent to which they possess control of the factor in production which they contribute. If those who contribute labor, for instance, desire to increase their share of the returns, they will have to acquire such command of the labor available for the industry that they can meet me on equal terms.

All industrial tendencies, the holders of this theory maintain, are toward the development of monopoly, that is, exclusive control of some interest or element in industry. The returns that an exceptional individual may receive are not primarily due to the fact that his services are worth much in themselves, but that by reason of his talent he comes nearer possessing a monopoly of the kind of service he can render. If I am an expert chemist, I can probably command a good salary, not because I know chemistry, but because few people know as much as I do about it. To promote fair distribution, according to this theory, monopoly control of each factor should therefore be encouraged. Perhaps this theory comes a little nearer the hard facts of things than the other, but it is not so attractive ideally.

Do you think absolutely free competition ever actually occurred?

130. What Are the Facts about Distribution?—We hate to think of any gross inequality in America, and probably

there is less here than in most other countries. We may therefore be shocked to look at some statistics. The value of the resources of this country in 1921, including both money and property, was estimated at over \$250,000,000,000. The census report for 1920 shows that there are about 24,000,000 families in the country. This would set the average wealth of each family in money and goods not far from \$11,000. But how many families that you know of possess that amount?

The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations (1915) quoted such figures as these: 60 per cent of our entire wealth is in the hands of 2 per cent of the people — the Rich! And 5 per cent of the wealth is spread over 65 per cent of the people — the Poor! Only the so-called "Middle Class" is in relative proportion, 33 per cent of the people controlling 35 per cent of the wealth. According to income tax figures for 1919 only 3,000,000 of the 24,000,000 families have an income of over \$2000 a year, but 65 families reported an income of over \$1,000,000. Yet there are millions of farmers and laborers who, working steadily, can barely make a living; while, on the other hand, there are many who do no regular work and have an income far beyond their needs.

Professor King's careful study of "The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States" reaches the conclusion, however, that in the last sixty years the proportion of the national income going to the various factors in production has not changed greatly, except that labor has gained slightly at the expense of management, and that the average individual laborer has increased his returns to an even greater proportion than the individual manager!¹ Why then is there so much discontent?

One reason for it is that more than one factor in production is frequently controlled by the same person or group. In a certain business, for example, the employer may own the land

¹ Wages per employee in purchasing power, 1850, \$147; 1910, \$401; profits per manager in purchasing power, 1850, \$318; 1910, \$711.

which the business makes use of, may own the capital invested in the business, and may actually manage the business himself. Three of the four elements in the total return will be taken by him under those circumstances. Even though the laborers combined may get perhaps fifty per cent of the whole amount, the share of the employer with his rent, interest, and profits is so much greater than any one laborer's



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A SCENE IN THE PENNSYLVANIA COKE DISTRICT.

The smoke from these furnaces gives the entire neighborhood a strange and dirty appearance. This district has sometimes been referred to as "hell with the lid off."

wages that the latter thinks something is decidedly wrong. The laborer often is unable to acquire control, by saving or other means, of capital or land to put into business ventures. Labor has been, too often, the tool or the slave of capital. The laborer has lacked bargaining power. Where this has

been the case, labor has been compelled to take what capital was willing to let it have.

If each person had an equal amount of wealth, would there be the same incentive for progress as now? Would such a condition harm or hinder the average man? How long would it last if it could be brought about? To what extent can we judge the satisfactoriness of distribution by any of the items mentioned in the question at the end of section 11?

131. Influences that Control Returns. — Two influences play a part in every phase of economic activity, and are extremely important in the matter of distribution. These are supply and demand. *Supply* does not mean all there is of any commodity, but that amount of it which is available at any time for any particular use. Coal as yet unmined could not be considered as part of the supply since it cannot be used. *Demand* is the desire for some good accompanied by the ability to obtain it. A white wing might like to buy a Rolls-Royce, but his economic demand would probably be zero. A street urchin looked longingly through a candy store window at a lolly-pop, but not until a benign gentleman handed him a penny did his economic demand for it become effective.

Demand and supply acting upon each other tend to determine the *price* of a commodity, which is its exchange value expressed in a money estimate. A strong demand or a small supply tends to raise the price. A weak demand or a large supply tends to lower the price. When the intensity of the demand corresponds closely to the amount of the supply, the price tends to settle at a point determined by the general utility of the good to society. Notice we say "tends to" do so and so. There may be a *normal* price, which is a kind of average or central figure which would represent the commodity's money value in general over a long period. But the *market* price — the figure which the commodity brings from day to day — may hover on either side of the normal price without happening to coincide with it very often.

Price in turn reacts upon demand and supply. The de-

mand for many things is *elastic*, that is, it varies from time to time. When prices are high, for example, demand is reduced. Few people will buy oranges at a dollar apiece. This tends to bring prices down to the point where demand will again be stirred up. Thus the pull of forces one way and the other tends to fix limits between which the market price of a commodity will range. Supply operates in a similar fashion, but conversely, to demand.

If you had ten dollars and enjoyed skating greatly, how much would you pay for a pair of skates? If you did not like to skate, how much would you pay? To what extent would your particular demand for skates affect the price of skates in the community? What other factors might affect this particular problem?

Make a list of ten commodities, the prices of which vary considerably in the course of a year, and ten whose prices vary little. Determine why the price does or does not vary in each case.

Let us make a few observations in regard to the effect of these influences and others upon the returns which each factor in productions receives.

132. Rent: The Return to Land.—We often use the word “rent” to mean the money we pay to the owner of a house for the privilege of living in it. But in the economic sense of the word, *rent* means the return that belongs to land or any natural resource for its part in production. Rent is often difficult to determine, because, as in the colloquial use of the word mentioned above, much of the return which the house owner gets is really due to the capital invested and not to the value of the land on which the house is situated. Real rent is dependent mainly on location and fertility. If two equally good houses are built, one in a very pretty part of the city and one in the slums, the former will undoubtedly bring a greater return to the owner, which will be due to the rent derived from its superior location. Crops on one piece of land may be worth \$50 more than on another, though each piece may have been cultivated with equal care. The first piece may also be near the city and the cost of transportation of

the products to the city be \$10 cheaper. The rent from that piece of land as compared with the other, due to both fertility and location, would therefore be \$60.

Would rent be high or low in a frontier district? On Manhattan Island? Could there be such a thing as "no-rent" land?

Returns from land are affected by the law of *diminishing returns*. According to this law, in farming or working with any natural resources, and to some extent in any other activity,



Courtesy United States Steel Corporation.

DIGGING OUT IRON ORE.

Scenes like this are the regular thing in the great iron districts of northern Minnesota.

a point will be reached beyond which the application of more capital and labor will bring in steadily decreasing additional returns.

Suppose a farmer has a tract of land on which he grows a crop. The value of this crop is, say, \$500 the first year. Perhaps the next year he will put twice as much labor and capital on the land as he did the first, and reap a crop worth \$1000. Again he may put three times the amount of capital and labor on his land the third year that he did the first and grow a crop worth \$500 more than the first and

second combined. Up to this time his returns have been increasing in proportion to his expense in capital and labor. But in the fourth year, he discovers that, although he has put four times as much capital and labor on his land as he did the first year, his returns are not \$500 greater than before. This shows that he has reached the point of diminishing returns. Just when he would arrive, he would of course be able to tell only by experiment. Conditions might sometimes justify him in continuing beyond that point, but never would he knowingly attempt to develop the land further unless the added returns were greater than the value of the additional labor and capital applied.

Some people argue that since man did not create land he is not entitled to any return for it; that all rent should go to the state; and that individuals are entitled to only what their own labor and capital have earned. The believers in the "single tax" (§ 271) maintain that if the state took this rent for itself it would not need to levy any form of tax at all. Yet the present holder of the land, if he has obtained possession of it by fair means, may with some logic claim that his own earnings have given him control of it, and that he is entitled to the product for which the land is responsible. But it must be admitted that people who are content to live on what their land does for them, without contributing any effort of their own, are not so popular as they were once. It is reasonable that if the value of land increases through no effort of the owner's, but as the result of surrounding improvements, the greater part of this "unearned increment" should go to the community and not to the idle landholder.

133. Wages. — The return that belongs to labor for its part in production is called *wages*. As in the case of the other factors, labor does not get a part of the actual goods produced but an amount in money. Today, too, this is usually handed over to him by an "employer." There was a time when all workers who took part in producing something received a part of the actual proceeds of their work as their reward. But the day came when workers were willing to give up their responsibility in the operation of the business and have no obligation except to do their day's work. Besides, how could a man who helped make iron rails or tombstones be paid in product? No doubt this change seemed a relief to the workers, but it enabled the man with brains, who was

willing to take chances and assume responsibility, to get the wage-workers virtually in his power and pay to them as little as he could and still keep them at work for him.

The amount of money which a worker receives for his labor may not really mean as much at one time as at another. The money received we sometimes call *money wages*, and what it will buy in goods we term *real wages*. Real wages, of course, are what actually count. Day laborers in Nevada, twenty years ago, might be getting four dollars a day, when similar workers in New York could not hope for more than two dollars. But New Yorkers could then buy milk for seven or eight cents a quart, while the Nevada laborer paid forty cents a quart for milk, if that was what he drank.

Workers naturally group themselves into classes: experts, who possess an unusual amount of talent or knowledge; skilled, who require special training or preparation but no more than average brain-power; semi-skilled, who need a little practice to do their work, but no long period of preparation; and unskilled, whose only qualifications are muscular strength or agility. Naturally, the higher are the qualifications demanded for any type of work, the fewer will be the available workers.

Give examples of each class of workers. Is there such a thing as an indispensable man?

Now, how is the return for any particular worker to be determined? There cannot be any no-wage laborers. Laborers must live and to do that must be paid, so that they may spend something in buying things to live on; while land continues to exist, whether it is worked or not. The number, or supply, of workers of any particular kind, will limit the amount one worker can expect to receive. Again, the wages of laborers will surely correspond in part to the quality of their labor, just as the rent of land corresponds to its fertility or location of the soil. But acquiring monopoly power through organization also gives workers a lever with which to lift the general standard of wages for all members of the organization,

and tends toward uniformity within any particular group. Some workers surely get less than they really contribute to industry, while others quite likely get more than their share.

When wages are raised, should the returns to land and capital be made less? What is the effect of education upon wage standards?

134. Interest. — The return that goes to capital for what it has done for production is known as *interest*. People who cannot make their money work for them and thereby gain something do not have much inducement to deny themselves the pleasure of spending their wealth at once. If they can be compensated for it, however, to an extent that will make up for the loss of pleasure in present expenditure, they are willing to forego the enjoyment of spending their money now.

The rate of return on capital varies considerably among different times and places. Three influences in particular help to determine what the rate shall be.

(1) In civilized lands *the value put upon future use of wealth* is much higher than in lands that are less progressive and advanced. In the younger and less civilized countries, therefore, the owner of money is offered much more as return for postponing the enjoyment of using it and the interest rate is much



A FAMOUS OFFICE BUILDING.
The Flatiron Building, New York.

higher. Primitive people and ignorant people think very much more of the enjoyment of a thing right now.

(2) In new or unprogressive lands too *the amount of capital in existence* is very much less than in older districts. Here the law of supply and demand appears. The larger is the amount of capital available, the less will be the return which it can demand. We see this difference in our own country in comparing the rates of interest which prevail on the Atlantic coast with those in the interior or the Far West.

(3) Another affecting element is *risk*. Where capital is invested in an industry that is not on a sure foundation, its holders will demand a larger return than in a business where the industry is established upon a rather definite and permanent basis.

All these influences combined may operate at the same time. When there is no capital, of course there is no interest. One might ask, therefore, Does interest come out of rent or out of wages? The answer is, Out of neither. Labor and land alone cannot carry on any modern industry; capital is an absolute essential. It demands a return for itself because it gives to industry something which industry could not receive otherwise. Therefore, with the added impulse given industry, an additional return is gained which the holders of capital claim as theirs.

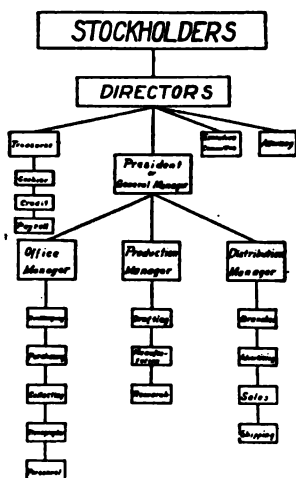
Why is interest high in Nevada and low in Massachusetts? Why is it generally higher in the United States than in Western Europe? What is usury? Why do loan-sharks usually charge high rates? How may a person know when he is asked to pay too high a rate of interest? When a corporation cannot pay dividends on its stock, has capital done nothing in that business? Often what is wrong?

135. Profits. — *Profits* are the return that go to the possessors of managing ability for what they have done in production. Like the word "rents," "profits" is also used in various senses. No doubt many would understand it to mean the amount that remains in the possession of a proprietor after his debts are paid. In fact, however, that

would include some items which would unquestionably be very much like interest and probably some that would really be the returns for the use of land or labor. But the economist means by it simply the rewards of managing ability as distinct from the rewards of any other kind of service. If profits are not set apart as a separate return they would be included partly under interest and partly under wages.

The theory which is used particularly to justify profits is that capital is a dead thing and, in order to be of service, it must be handled. The capitalist who manages his own business will therefore claim a return in the form of interest on his capital, and also in the form of profits for his management of the capital. But those who have managing ability do not always own capital. Some men of wealth are content simply to allow their wealth to be used as capital, while other men assume the responsibility of managing it.

The extent to which profits gather will depend upon the ability of the manager who receives them. If he has only just enough ability to keep his business going, his profits are not likely to be great. The manager, or "enterpriser," is the force that brings together land, labor, and capital. The enterpriser who organizes a business may run a risk of having nothing left for his own time and energy after paying rent, wages, and interest. A manager's profit will depend upon the extent to which his ability is greater than the ability of the person who would just fail to be able to manage a business at all. So managers vary all the way from "no-profit" ability to real genius.



HOW ONE CORPORATION ORGANIZES ITS BUSINESS.

The very fact that the consideration of profits as a separate item in returns is relatively new, seems to indicate a considerable increase in the importance of that kind of industrial service to which profits are given. Undoubtedly it is a tremendous influence in building up big fortunes.

What qualities are necessary to a good business man? Point out the ways and extent to which management enters into the success of the farmer, the lumberman, the dentist, the printer, the grocer, the furniture manufacturer. Can profits be regulated by law? If you say yes, should they be? On which of these four elements are large fortunes based? Can one man *earn* a million dollars? If you say a millionaire did not earn his wealth, from whom did he take it?

∴ Determining the amount which should be received by each of the factors in production is a difficult task; but if social and industrial justice are to be assured, the task must somehow be accomplished.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Interest Rates in the United States.

Wages in This Country and in Others.

A Study of the Meat Business (or some other) to Determine the Contribution of Each Factor in Production.

REFERENCE READINGS

Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 39–44.

Laing — Introduction to Economics, Chapter 24.

Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapters 22, 24–26.

Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapters 28–31, 33–36.

Blackmar and Gillin — Outlines of Sociology, Part II., Chapters 9, 10.

Adams — Description of Industry, Chapters 9, 12.

Hayes — Introduction to Sociology, Chapters 7, 8.

XII. PROMOTING THE PUBLIC GOOD THROUGH BUSINESS

If capital is essential to any modern business, its use must be properly planned. Wasted capital and unemployed wealth do no good to society or to the individual who has them. By what agencies are the factors in production organized for usefulness and how are such agencies regulated so as to promote the public welfare?

136. **Simple Forms of Business Organization.** — There are three types of organization which appear commonly among industries today — the single proprietorship, the partnership, and the corporation. The simplest of these, the *single proprietorship*, is that type of business management in which one man assumes all responsibilities, takes all risks, and receives all profits. Always this has been the most common form of business management, and even now must be, for most of the corner grocery stores and fruit stands, as well as farms and many other kinds of establishments, not all of them small, are handled in this way. The single “enterpriser” may or may not hire men to work for him. The chief disadvantages of this type of business are that the proprietor does not as a rule have enough capital to expand the business to any great extent, and can hardly have a wide enough knowledge or experience to manage the varied features of large-scale industry. Yet he can manage the business just as he wishes, and the fact that he is so vitally interested will cause him to strive hard for its success.

The *partnership* is a form of organization in which two or more people join in management. Each member is responsible for the obligations of the group, and is entitled to a share in the profits or losses in proportion to what he is supposed to contribute to the conduct of the business. Often partners do

not have an equal interest in the enterprise. Sometimes experience or extra service in the line of management or operation is counted as equivalent to money investment. This system of operation is based on the principle that two heads are better than one, and perhaps that two pocketbooks contain more than one. Each partner may handle that part of the business for which he is best fitted. The partnership has some of the advantages of the corporation without its formal organization. It suffers from the inconvenience, however, that a business disagreement may occur between the partners, and if a partner dies or moves away or makes some other change of importance, the business may have to be reorganized.

137. **Corporations.** — Recent years have witnessed a remarkable growth of this form of management, especially for "big business." The *corporation* is made up of a number of people (some states require five or more) who secure a charter from a state, and are authorized by it to undertake some line of business and to issue stock to a certain amount. The stock is generally sold in shares valued at \$100 each. Every one who owns one or more shares of stock has the right to take part in the election of a board of directors, who are generally responsible for the policies of the corporation. Each stockholder usually has one vote for each share of stock that he owns, so that if one person or a group of persons owns more than half the stock, he or they can control the policy of the corporation. The directors elect a president, vice president, general manager, or other officers, as may be needed, and intrust the actual operation of the business to their hands.

The corporation has the same standing at law that is enjoyed by an individual. At the same time it is not subject to some of the inconveniences that attend individual management. The stockholders are responsible only for the amount that their stock is supposed to be worth. If one of them dies or moves from his former residence, the corporation as an organization is not affected at all. As a business man said recently, "Kings and corporations never die; individuals

may come and go, but our firm goes on forever." The sale of stock makes it possible to bring in thousands of dollars which can be invested in the business, from people who would not personally take any part in the production of the commodities or services which the corporation aims to serve.

Many corporations sell stock in two forms — preferred stock and common. *Preferred* stock is that on which a fixed return is paid before any other dividends are distributed. *Common* stock is that which takes whatever profits are to be distributed after the preferred stock has been cared for. If the business is very profitable, the dividends on the common stock may be even greater than on the preferred.

Another means by which a corporation gets capital is the old but simple one of borrowing. They generally do this by selling bonds. The *bonds* are nothing more than promises to pay at a fixed time, with interest. If the corporation is successful in business, it can afford to pay interest on the bonds and still make money. Unlike the stockholder, the bondholder has no voice in the business of the corporation.

Give examples from your own community, if possible, of the different types of business organization. Is a stockholder in a corporation a capitalist? Should this term carry an unpleasant meaning to the average person? If you owned a share of stock in a glass factory, would you feel differently about child labor? Do firm names signify the type of organization which is employed? Why did Julius Rosenwald not substitute his own name for that of Sears, Roebuck, and Company when he became the controlling spirit in the concern? What conditions are required in your state for a corporation to obtain a charter?

138. Trusts. — Another form of business organization which is not now supposed to exist is the trust. We say it is not supposed to exist because laws have been passed to break up trusts and prevent their formation. Yet there have been attempted several notable trusts since the passage of the Anti-Trust Laws. Corporations now usually try to secure the same objects by private agreement, rather than by changing their business organization.

But what is a *trust*? It is a combination of corporations which aims to secure such control of some business that it can regulate the production or price of some commodity. The Standard Oil Company was the first great trust. The original idea was to have a group of "trustees" selected which would administer the affairs of several companies which had been in competition with each other. The forming of "pools" by railroads was an application of the same idea. A later scheme was to have a new corporation chartered for no other purpose than to hold stock (perhaps 51 per cent) in the corporations which were to be brought together. Such a special corporation was known as a "holding company." When both these methods were outlawed, the system of the "interlocking directorate" was invented. By this means the same men might be directors of several corporations, and of course would see to it that one corporation of which they were directors would do nothing to harm any others with which they were similarly connected. Our laws now forbid such a process, but the restriction is difficult to enforce, for a private secretary or clerk may serve almost as well as his employer on the board of directors of a corporation.

Be sure that the terms "trust" and "corporation" do not mean the same to you. A trust is a combination of corporations. A corporation is a perfectly proper and reasonable method for carrying on business. It may carry on business on a large scale and still not be a trust. Trusts have not always been highly successful. The law of diminishing returns applies in some measure to every industry, and a business can be too big to be managed with perfect efficiency.

Could we have, if the laws permitted, a wheat trust? a watch trust? a biscuit trust? a school book trust? a celery trust? Show how one man, by owning 51 per cent of all the stock of some corporation, might be able to dominate several corporations. Imagine yourself going into business. Trace the steps you might follow in the process of getting funds and in the extension of your business, assuming that your business is reasonably successful.

139. Large-scale Production. — We have already referred to large-scale production as an important feature of modern business. To obtain its benefits is one of the reasons for the formation of corporations and trusts. Some of its advantages are the following:

(1) The larger the business, the larger are the quantities of material that can be purchased at once, and the more readily



Courtesy Ford Motor Co.

A DEPARTMENT IN A BIG MANUFACTURING PLANT.

This is the crank-shaft grinding department of the Ford Motor Co. Each department contains all of the necessary machinery to complete every operation on every part or piece it produces. Each workman has a particular step or process to attend to and the whole organization of the plant is based upon this principle of specialization.

can the product be disposed of. This results in a much reduced cost of production.

(2) Division of labor and specialization of work can be carried out in great detail. This should result in a higher quality of goods and in a greater amount of product than otherwise.

(3) The by-products of large-scale industries can be made useful and add to the profits of the business. The paraffin of the Standard Oil Company, the glue and the buttons from the meat-packing concerns, which have been often said to use everything in the animal except the squeal, and the cleanable collars sold by the Du Pont powder works, are examples of by-products of which one might never think.

(4) Much improved machinery can be used. Scientific investigations can be made and new inventions attempted which a small business could not undertake.

(5) Factories can be established in different places where some particular raw material is available or where there is some special advantage in the shipment of the finished product.

(6) Competition is likely to be less dangerous, since small-scale producers will not be able to meet the prices which the large-scale factory can profitably charge.

What industries are best adapted to large-scale production? Name some industries that are not. In what respects is a large school better or worse than a small school? Do the same principles apply to business corporations?

140. Special Features of Modern Organization. — Large-scale production has introduced many new features into business. Particularly it has developed an extensive system of middle men — because hardly any large producers deal directly with the users of their goods. The broker, wholesaler, jobber, and retailer may all come between. They do not seem to do any actual producing; they all take their profits and seemingly must raise the consumer's prices.

Do they do anything really worth while? Yes, they save the consumers the trouble of hunting for some one who sells the goods he wants to buy, or waiting for shipment from a distance. The middle men give time and place utility to goods, and in that sense are producers, after all. They handle goods in large quantities, reduce expense in shipping, and save the individual the trouble and worry of handling freight. No

doubt we have too many people claiming pay for doing things that some one else could do with less cost to us, but if the middle men did not render any service to anybody they would never have come into existence.

The *department store*, the city's general store, is a feature of modern business which succeeds because it can get rid of some of the middle men. One store's motto is this: "Buying more, we buy for less; selling more, we sell for less." It can really benefit its customers if it does not pass off second-rate goods to them under cover of lower prices.

The *chain store* is another result of large-scale business. The same corporation may have stores in many cities. The



Courtesy Swift and Co.

A TRAIN OF REFRIGERATOR CARS.

This train, loaded with the products of this one company, represents an important feature in the modern meat-packing business. With the use of this kind of car meat products can be safely shipped long distances in good condition.

five-and-ten-cent stores make a big business of little things. Small articles handled on a small scale at small prices would be unprofitable. A chain of stores can buy and ship whole factory lots at a time and do it at a marvelously cheap rate. They also usually sell for cash only, and thus avoid the cost and risk of carrying book accounts.

The *mail-order house* also seeks to displace the middle man, for the customer may order almost directly from the factory

through catalogues. Such a system often seems a boon to farmers, since they need not come to the city for their goods. Rural retailers, however, object strenuously. They say that they offer the customer better service, because he can see the goods and need not order a misfit from a picture in a catalogue. Moreover, they are helping to support their own community and think that they should receive their neighbor's business.

Any form of large-scale business calls for a high order of management. The proprietor or manager must be able to judge how great the demand will be for his product and to meet that demand as nearly as possible. A manufacturer must not put on the market a greater supply of the commodity than there is a demand for. A retail dealer must not load his shelves with things he can hardly sell at all or only at rare intervals. And yet both must be ready to serve the public promptly when it wants something. Successful advertising also plays a big part in the prosperity of many a modern business.

Find statistics of the number of men who failed in business in the United States in some year. If you are familiar with any who did not make a success in some business enterprise, try to determine why they failed.

The successful business man must be able to get good work from his employees. The advocates of "scientific management" believe that there is some one best way to do almost everything, whether it is pushing a wheelbarrow, laying bricks, or keeping a record in an office. They assert that, if this best way can be found, work can be done in a much greater amount and with less wear and tear on the worker than otherwise. Unquestionably much good from the employer's viewpoint has come from the application of this principle, but the average union worker does not take kindly to it, mistakenly thinking that the only object of the employer is to get as much work out of him as possible. Improved methods ought to benefit both parties.

Class Study:

Modern Advertising: objects; forms — billboard, magazine, window display, circular, follow-up letters, special stories; expense and who pays it; value, to producer and to buyer.

Make a list of ten familiar advertisements. Which of those are good and which ineffective as far as making any impression on you is concerned? Can farmers advertise successfully?

To what extent does insurance play a part in a business man's budget? Against what kinds of misfortunes might he wish to carry insurance? Is insurance a form of gambling? Do we have more fires or less because of fire insurance? What emergencies other than destruction of property might a business man need to guard against?

141. Dangers in Big Business. — Not all the results of large production are necessarily beneficial. As we have already noted, business may become too big to handle efficiently; and the extreme specialization which is required from the workers may be detrimental. If large-scale production does nothing more than help a few rich men and women to become richer, it is hard to see wherein the people are better off.

A few unscrupulous men can gain the control of a large business and dominate it for their personal gain. Small stockholders may be either "frozen out" or ignored, for even the corporation is subject to the disadvantage that the stockholder may be far removed from the actual management of the business. "Promoters" sometimes cause the organization of a new corporation, and usually demand their returns in the form of a considerable amount of stock, which is, of course, wholly or mostly, "water." This becomes a fixed charge on the corporation and reduces the returns to the other stockholders by so much. Especially in corporations dealing with railroads, gas and electric light companies, and the like, there has been a considerable amount of "high finance" which results in added costs today to those who are trying to make the business pay. This is sometimes the reason why such concerns demand higher prices and fares from the public than their services deserve.

The tremendous financial power of big business is a source

of temptation and peril. The big concern raises prices in one place and lowers them in another, to crush small competitors and then raise prices permanently. People used to say, "Let there be free competition and may the best man win." But did he? More often the most crooked and unscrupulous prevailed. As he grew stronger he sought to annihilate his rivals. Personal morals and business morals seemed to be wholly different. Men who would not think of stealing a stick of candy or a rose boasted of wrecking a railroad or ruining a rival. Businesses went into bankruptcy and paid what they could to their creditors, or else sold out to their conqueror on his terms.

We have also seen big business in politics to no good end. Railroads have built and ruined individual communities, and have used their money to elect legislatures and governors,



THE GREATEST STEEL

This plant is at Duquesne, Pennsylvania, in the Pittsburgh district.

and to control political parties. Franchises, instead of being obtained so that the holders might serve the people, were bought from legislatures by almost open gifts of stocks, bonds, or other favors. Especially in city government, instance after instance occurred when contracts were awarded and privileges were granted, not to the most deserving, but to the one who made it most profitable for the city council.

Certain business interests are always active in trying to secure special favors when new tariff laws are being made. They have contributed to the campaign funds of Congress-

men. They demanded their men's vote on matters which concerned themselves and their friends. Looking at the matter only from a selfish standpoint, we cannot blame them for supporting the political party whose platform suited them best. But our government does not exist for the purpose of giving favors to anybody ; and if the interests of all the people are to be preserved, the government must control industry, big or little, and not be controlled by it.

142. Forms of Monopolies. — When, as a result of business conflict, small-scale producers are eliminated, will the rivalry between a few large-scale producers be more intense and burdensome than before? If so, they will endeavor to get together and put a stop to such struggles which are a constant source of worry and expense. If that is the case, large-scale



Courtesy United States Steel Corporation.

MILL IN THE WORLD.

Does it give you some idea of the enormous size of such an establishment?

production has a tendency, if carried far enough, toward monopoly. By *monopoly*, we mean a state of affairs where one person or corporation, or a combination of them, has command over the production or sale of a commodity. The regulation of prices is the real test. No matter how large a business any person or corporation operates, a monopoly does not exist unless the producer is free to fix the price of his product at any point he pleases. There are several different kinds of monopolies.

(1) A monopoly of *organization* exists when several pro-

ducers control through combination the output of their commodity. Trusts were formed to obtain this form of monopoly. The policy of some labor unions is of exactly this kind, when they demand the *closed shop*, in which none except members of the union can be employed.

(2) Another kind of monopoly which is also usually conducted on a large scale is the *governmental* monopoly. By this, we mean an activity which is carried on entirely by public officers. In the United States, the post office is a governmental monopoly; in some European countries the sale of salt or tobacco; in practically all countries the coining of money.

(3) *Private legal* monopolies are granted by the government to persons or groups of people to enable them to engage in some activity, generally for a limited time, without danger of competition. Patents, good for seventeen years, and copyrights, for twenty-eight years, are considered incentives and rewards for inventors and composers. Franchises that carry monopoly privileges are often granted to street railways, gas companies, and the like, because such public utilities are expected to serve the public best as monopolies.

(4) Monopolies of *situation* owe their monopoly power to the control of the only location in which some industry can profitably be carried on. The best example of this kind of monopoly is a railroad which occupies a mountain pass or a river valley that is so much better than any other route that it entirely prevents competition.

(5) *Personal* monopolies occur when only one person in a community possesses a particular talent or training. The country doctor or printer or dentist often controls his profession completely in his neighborhood. This kind of monopoly seldom causes any industrial problem.

143. Monopoly Prices. — Many people think that when some line of production is monopolized, the inevitable result is very high prices. In one sense it is true that monopolists may charge whatever they will. But what will they charge?

When the price of an article is raised, the demand for it becomes less; if it is lowered, the demand increases. The monopolist wants the greatest returns possible, and these may result from a small number of sales at a very high price or a large number of sales at a low cost. The latter is more likely, for it is most often the case that the cost of production per unit in large quantities is much less than in small quantities. The monopolist is therefore likely to keep his price within



Courtesy United States Steel Corporation.

ORE BOATS AT LOADING DOCKS.

This Corporation owns the mines from which it gets its ore, the great docks, the boats on which the ore is loaded, and the factories in which the ore is transformed into all kinds of steel products.

reason, though probably not as low as he could fix it and still get a respectable return for his services in production.

The two chief restraining factors in fixing monopoly prices are *competition* and *substitution*. A competitor may enter the same field as a monopolist who charges extremely high prices, and be able to make reasonable profits by charging a lower price. By substitution we mean that people will simply stop using a commodity for which an exorbitant price is charged, or use something else in its place. If too much were

charged for wheat flour, people would substitute corn or rye flour for it. Butter at a dollar a pound would force many people to use oleomargarine. The Great War showed us what we can do in this respect if we have to.

As a last resort there is still a third possibility, *government restriction*. When the monopolist controls a necessity of life, substitution may be impossible. Then a government would be grossly negligent which did not lay its restraining hand upon high prices in the same way that we have already done upon railroad rates.

Why does not this book cost \$10 a copy? Suppose the maker of a patented pencil discovers or estimates that at a selling price of \$.50 he sells 80,000 a year with a production cost of \$.25 each; at \$1 apiece he sells 40,000 with a production cost of \$.30; at \$1.50 apiece he sells 25,000 with a production cost of \$.40 each. What price is he likely to charge?

144. Public Opinion about Big Business. — A large part of the public has developed an intense dislike for big business. If a suit is brought in court against a large corporation, an average jury will generally decide against the corporation. To obtain fair settlements insurance companies and other large concerns make every attempt to reach agreements outside of court. Wealthy men are disliked and censured for everything they do, merely because they are wealthy. The public's memory recalls what happened when railroads and other forms of big business did just what they pleased. No matter how hard the Chicago meat packers try to convince the public that they are not acting as the possessors of monopoly power, they get very little sympathy from the public in general.

Yet there are times when monopolies may be distinctly helpful to the people. If the monopolist passes on to the public some of the advantages of low cost in production and the saving that comes from absence of competition, most of the people may be benefited. Besides, it is often a matter of distinct convenience in the case of agencies such as the tele-

phone or street railway to have the entire service in one community under one management. Six street car lines in Boston which did not transfer to one another would be an unendurable nuisance. Even two telephone lines in a large city may also cause considerable inconvenience when some of the people of a neighborhood have the phone of one company and others a different one.

Under what conditions would you consent to the existence of a monopoly in the sale of flour or milk? street car service? the work of barbers or physicians?

States have granted charters to corporations to do almost anything, and under cover of these they have engaged in activities which are open to serious question. The tendency now in the majority of states is to be much more strict in the requirements demanded when a charter is asked for. The states which are still lenient in this respect are often sought by people in other states who wish to get charters on easy terms. When such charters are secured corporations have the right to do business in other states, because the United States Constitution declares that no state shall pass any law impairing the obligations of a contract, and the Supreme Court has said that a charter is a contract. Some believe that the Federal government should require corporations to take out Federal charters, if the business to be done will require commerce between the states. Perhaps such a law would make it easier to secure regulation and control of corporations and would promote the public interest.

But let us not think that big business is always wrong. When the great controversy over gold and silver was at its height in 1896, big business was right and its money probably saved the country from a great mistake. During the Great War, which tested the patriotism of men of all classes, business that was really big played its part nobly. Profiteering and such performances, which the unpatriotic practiced under cover of the nation's necessity, are to be charged not against big business so much as against the fellows who saw their

first chance to make easy money. Even organized labor needs to be careful to avoid doing the same kind of thing which we so often berate big business for doing.

If you were a millionaire, would you be likely to favor or oppose laws which would control big business? What is your attitude now? Why?

145. Theories of the Government's Relation to Business.

— When we spoke of the gild system (§ 100) we noticed a very close connection between government and industry; then as time went on, this connection became weaker and weaker, until finally the gilds in England were declared illegal. During the last century, we have seen the reverse of this process working out.

When the 19th century came in, the favorite industrial theory was that of the Englishman Adam Smith and the American Thomas Jefferson. "That government governs best that governs least," said Jefferson. That theory is called the *laissez faire* theory. These two French words may be freely translated, "Let things alone." It is the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest." In practice, however, the fittest survived only if by "fittest" is meant the most powerful. The strongest prevailed and the weaker went to the wall. The interests of the poor workers and of the people who were not directly concerned with any particular industry received no consideration whatever.

Events have forced us to adopt a different policy, and we now proceed on the basis of the *social* or *regulative* theory. This proposes that the government, representing the people, has not only the right but the duty to interfere in industry, when such interference will promote the well-being of either the workers in the industry or the community which depends upon it. The state, for instance, may compel the factory owner to provide decent conditions for his workers. It may supervise the actions of the monopolist and restrict them if it is necessary. Courts almost always recognize the state's police power as sufficiently elastic to permit a wide range of regulation.

Those who are still not satisfied set forth the *socialistic* theory. This declares that all essential phases of production, transportation, and exchange should be carried on by the government. The government should own all public activities. All monopolies would be government monopolies. Only time will tell whether we shall ever accept the socialistic idea as the next forward step in industry. But it is certain that we will never go back to the *laissez faire* policy.

146. Restrictive Legislation. — The first attempts at regulation of industry were mild. State legislation is only partly effective, because the business of monopolies usually extends beyond the limits of one state. The first federal legislation was the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890. It was passed largely for political reasons, because public opinion demanded some legislation against the rapid development of trusts. There was no serious attempt made to enforce it until the Roosevelt administration, when a number of spectacular and successful prosecutions were started.

This law was too indefinite. It declared that every contract, combination in the form of a trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade between the states was illegal. In practically every case that came before the courts this law had to be specially interpreted. People complained that they did not know what they had a right to do and what they did not have a right to do. To remedy this difficulty the Clayton Act of 1914 was passed. It makes clearer what shall be considered illegal acts. It forbids price discrimination and "tying" contracts. These are contracts made between a wholesaler and the retailers who handle his goods, preventing the retailers from selling any other company's products on the penalty of the wholesaler's withdrawing his goods. It also forbids holding companies and interlocking directorates, and does not permit one corporation to buy up the stock of a competitor.

The Federal Trade Commission was also established in 1914. It is composed of five members appointed by the

President in different years for seven-year terms. It investigates industrial conditions, calls for reports, and aids the courts in decrees of dissolution. It attempts to prevent unfair methods of competition in commerce and it may initiate proceedings in the courts against offenders.

Laws of 1921 establish a system of supervisory control over the meat-packing business and over grain exchanges.

Many states have "blue sky" laws to prevent fraud on the part of corporations. These laws prevent corporations put-



Courtesy Carnegie Steel Co.

AN INSIDE VIEW IN A STEEL MILL.

An open hearth furnace is being charged with hot metal from a "mixer." There is something profoundly impressive in the vastness and somberness of a great steel mill, even though its appearance can hardly be otherwise than dark and unattractive. How would you like to work there?

ting any stock on the market which does not represent a substantial business investment. Many states now require the permission of a state commission before stocks or bonds can be issued by public service corporations. These public

utilities commissions or public service commissions, as they are variously called, are bodies which have general power of regulation and supervision over railroads, street railways, telephone lines, gas, light, and power companies, and the like, which do business under a franchise from a state or local government. They usually have power to pass judgment on rate changes, as well as on many other features of business policy. Upon the efficiency, ability, and honesty of these commissions much depends, for the welfare of both the public and the agencies which serve them.

Coupling these regulative agencies with the Interstate Commerce Commission and the other bodies which have authority over transportation and communication, we find a fairly extensive system of public supervision. Have we gone far enough in this matter?

Can you suggest any further means of controlling big business if that should seem to be desirable?

147. Public Ownership and Operation. — Many people who would not adopt the socialistic theory for full industrial control by the government are sympathetically inclined toward government ownership and operation of such public utilities as the railroads, lighting systems, gas systems, and water systems. Except in supplying water and to some extent the furnishing of light, we have had very little actual exercise of such power in this country, but steam railroads and street railways operated by the government are common in Europe.

Among the arguments offered for government ownership of public utilities are these:

- (1) It is the only way to control disputes between labor and capital. As long as private management exists there will always be constant danger of controversies and interruption of the service.
- (2) Government ownership should give better service at lower rates, because it will either be conducted at cost or else will have its income devoted to improvements in the system or to paying other expenses of the government.

- (3) Government ownership will take out of the hands of a small number of great moneyed interests the large amount of wealth invested in these activities and put it into the hands of the representatives of the people. This would do away with the corrupting influence of big business upon government and would make it possible to maintain a higher standard of service.
- (4) Government operation would help to set standard prices for the service rendered, and these would be based on the cost of operation, and not on the amount of dividend which private stockholders wish to receive.

Now for some negative arguments. In the summer of 1919, the Chambers of Commerce of the various cities went strongly on record against government ownership of the railroads. Since their reasons will apply to almost any kind of government ownership, we shall summarize them briefly:

- (1) Under government ownership, development of railroad service would depend upon appropriations by Congress. These would usually be late and would often be made or refused because of political reasons.
- (2) To take over the title of the roads, the government would have to incur an enormous debt in addition to its present burden.
- (3) Government operation is seldom as efficient as private management. The roads could not be conducted at a profit without increasing fares and freight rates. Government operation, therefore, would be more expensive than private operation.
- (4) Though the selection of officers and men for the system would probably be made under civil service rules, political influence could not be kept out.

That the Chamber of Commerce represents the sentiment of the business men of the country is very probable. But among farmers, railroad employees, and laboring men, government ownership is generally popular. The government's experience in war-time operation of the railroads hardly furnishes any fair basis for forming an opinion of its success as a permanent policy. What we had then was *government operation with private ownership*, which is about as unsatisfactory a situation as we could imagine. Private owners now have

another chance to make good. "We shall see what we shall see."

Why should the railroad employees and the Chamber of Commerce look at things so differently? Hardly anybody would ask to have the public water system or the post office put into private hands. Why should not people feel the same way about other public utilities?

∴ Business is carried on to serve the public in some way, because otherwise it could not exist. Big business organizations may acquire such control of an industry as to make the public virtually depend on them rather than they upon the public. The public interest, under such conditions, not only justifies but demands the regulation or supervision of it by agencies representing the public. Whether such supervision will lead to operation of all or many public utilities by the government is still an open question.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Organization and Management of a Corporation.

The Administrative Organization of a Large-Scale Business.

The United States Steel Corporation.

The Standard Oil Company.

Scientific Management.

The Work of Insurance Companies.

Industrial Coöperation during the War.

Types of Business Organizations in Our Community.

The Farmer as a Business Manager.

Advertising, Good and Bad.

The Mail-Order House.

The Chain Store.

Adam Smith and His Views.

Anti-Trust Legislation.

The Federal Government and the Packers.

Public Ownership in Practical Operation.

Resolved, that the United States government should own and operate all interstate railroads.

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XIII. SAFEGUARDING THE WORKERS

Rightly or wrongly, we usually connect with our thought of the activities of capital and management a supposition that they need restraint. How should we feel toward those who contribute their labor? Are they more in need of restraint or of protection? What are the specific needs of the workers and what is being done to satisfy them? How can we hope to make their condition of life and work worthy of their industrial importance?

148. Do They Need Special Protection? — We need not disparage the economic value of other factors in order to realize how important a factor in industry is labor. It is labor that makes land and capital do things. It is labor that thinks. We must therefore recognize the absolute necessity of a labor force that is sufficiently large and sufficiently intelligent to make land and capital as useful as possible.

In a controversy between capital and labor the general public is likely instinctively to sympathize with labor. Capital and land do nothing themselves. The worker contributes his energy and his life. The human factor makes up society. The great mass of human beings are workers, and our country's welfare depends upon their well-being.

Under at least four conditions workers can justly claim special protection. (1) When they are too weak to protect themselves, or when they are engaged in occupations that are inherently hazardous or require some dangerous operations or make unhealthful conditions possible, society by law and public sentiment should throw safeguards about them. (2) When by coöperation they can look out for their own interests, they may rightly demand the privilege of doing so. (3) If employers do not or cannot pay large wages, they at least can provide reasonable facilities for their employees' health, comfort, and happiness. (4) For its own sake society should endeavor to

have every citizen able to do something useful, so that he may not be a burden to himself or his community. — And all this is not sentimental sympathy, but plain common sense. The



Courtesy U. S. Steel Corporation.

UNDERCUTTING COAL IN THE INTERIOR OF A MINE.

Notice the cramped position in which the miner must work.

conservation of *human* resources and the conservation of *natural* resources are alike sound business and fine morality.

A. Protection through Legislation

Upon the health and intelligence of women and children depends in a peculiar sense the future welfare of our country. They are not able to look out for themselves as well as men are. Men too cannot always assure themselves of complete safety in industry. One worker killed every sixteen minutes is entirely too high a toll for any civilized country to permit. Problems such as these call for solution in part by law.

149. Child Workers. — In a country as enlightened as we think we are, can there be any argument about child labor?

Yet there are probably two million child workers in the country. How can this be explained? The unscrupulous greed of the manufacturer to gain by cheap labor, the selfishness, laziness, and poverty of parents, their ignorance of the benefit of schools, the child's dislike for school, the introduction of machine methods into business, and the scarcity of laborers have all been given as reasons.

The factory system as it grew under *laissez faire* made this a fearful problem in England a century and more ago, but it did not become such a serious matter in this country until much later. Child labor is more common in the South than in the North and today more common in agriculture than in manufacturing. Work for children on the farm is not so harmful, and though it cannot readily be stopped need not cause any great worry.

A child ten or twelve years old working in a factory ten or twelve hours a day is a detriment to every one concerned. Steady work at a machine with no play or fresh air makes him a weak and underdeveloped man. The constant grind of work without schooling makes him narrow-minded and ill-disposed to all better situated than he is. Being thrown in among adults of all kinds at the learning age, he learns all forms of vice and immorality. He may keep older men from positions they should fill. With the children out at work family life is broken up. Children cannot do as good work for the employer as adults, so that even he in the long run loses rather than gains.

In view of the attitude of the Supreme Court it is virtually impossible for the national government to restrain child labor. The Keating-Owen bill of 1916 forbade the transportation between the states of the products of child labor. Another act in 1919 imposed a 10 per cent tax on such products. But both acts were declared unconstitutional on the ground that child labor was within the domestic jurisdiction of the states.

The most effective means of prevention through law must be applied locally. Massachusetts was the first state to leg-

islate against child labor. Now all states have some laws about the matter. The general trend is to forbid a child's working regularly for wages under the age of fourteen. Between fourteen and sixteen he may work if his family needs the money and if he goes to a continuation school several hours a week in addition. Some states forbid child employment more than forty-four or forty-eight hours a week, or at other hours than between six in the morning and seven at night. But any law is useless unless accompanied by effective inspection and enforcement.

As the public understands more about this vital question, it seems likely that we are on the way toward a reasonable settlement of the child labor difficulty. A Children's Bureau in the national Department of Labor is always gathering and publishing information that will help to enlighten us. In some homes conditions so near poverty exist that it may be necessary for children to work at an earlier age than is desirable. For that reason, no doubt we cannot absolutely prevent the employment of children in factories and stores. But at least we are sufficiently awake to prevent a return to the conditions which once existed.

Can you think of any industry in which child labor is necessary? Should a school child work before or after school hours? Should a child have special home duties of his own? How early should a child have his own money? How should he get it? What are the child labor laws of your state?

150. Women Workers. — There was no "woman problem" in industry until the factory appeared. Girls from both farm and town then found work there by the thousands. In recent years, almost every business and profession has been opened to them. Why they have gone out of the home to find work we shall see later (§ 164). At first women did not seem out of place in the factory, for they had operated the loom at home. But it was a far different thing in reality, and we are now convinced that it is necessary to lay down certain requirements concerning the work of women in industry.

In order to get employment, women will often work for pay that is not a decent living wage. Long hours of labor may cause serious physical harm. If women are not paid enough to live on, they are sometimes tempted to add to their income by means that are detrimental to health and morality. Competition with poorly paid women may cut down men's wages or even keep them out of work.

For some of the same reasons which caused the regulation of child labor, women's work in industry calls for legislation.



Underwood & Underwood.

A KIND OF WORK NOT OFTEN DONE BY WOMEN.

During the Great War women undertook a great amount of work which they never undertook before and for which they were not particularly fitted. This is said to be the first picture of women section hands working on the railroad.

They are weaker physically and show less ability to protect themselves through organization. Besides, their health and general welfare are of special importance to the future strength of our people. Many states permit fifty-four hours' work a week, but do not allow women to work at night. There are

also laws requiring good conditions of light, heat, and ventilation and the provision of seats wherever this is possible. A Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor gathers statistics and makes investigations of value.

Minimum wage laws for women are also common. They may apply to minors as well. In some states they refer to all industries, in others just to specified work. The usual minimum is \$8 or \$9 a week, but may vary according to the age of the worker. Such laws assure at least a living wage, though it is not often any more than sufficient to provide the mere necessities of life.

If your state has a minimum wage law, what are its terms? The Supreme Court of the United States declared such a law for the District of Columbia unconstitutional. What arguments could it have used?

151. Improved Conditions of Labor. — In an American factory about 1840, from sun-up to sun-down was the usual working day. Accidents were regarded as an inevitable toll of the factory system, a "sad but true" story not to be altered. Wages were seldom better than a dollar a day. Any kind of place was good enough to work in.

We have already referred to notable improvements in conditions affecting health and safety in industry (§§ 42, 43). Sweat shops, where women and children, and sometimes men, worked long hours at starvation pay, have been either abolished or partly reformed. Perhaps equal to this in importance is the shortening of the working day.

Working from twelve to sixteen hours day after day produces complete physical and mental exhaustion. After such a day's toil, a worker is in no condition to enjoy his home or to make his company pleasant. Reaction from the gloomy routine of the factory may lead him to the demoralizing associations found in places of unhealthful recreation. He is in no condition to study or put himself in the way of mental improvement. Besides, he has no chance, if he is a factory worker, for the outdoor activity which such a person needs so

much. Moreover, the physical weariness of the last hours of a long day's work is responsible for an enormous number of accidents and an impairment of the quality of work and product.

The first gain was a reduction to a ten-hour day, but a still further cut followed. Now the eight-hour day is generally



Courtesy of Pillsbury Flour Mills.

ATTRACTIVE SURROUNDINGS FOR LABOR.

Notice how clean everything is. The man is inspecting flour as it passes through a bolting machine in which the flour is sifted through fine silk.

accepted as a desirable standard, though many thousands, especially in the steel mills, work longer. One of the last stands of the long working day was broken in 1916, when Congress under the threat of a general railroad strike passed the Adamson Act, which established eight hours as the basis of reckoning for a day's work on the railroads. On the other hand, a Saturday half-holiday taken out of this time is not uncommon, and some workers are talking about a forty-hour

week. We must surely stop somewhere, or else a serious reduction in output and consequent increase in cost of production will be inevitable. But any reasonable concession to the welfare of workers will usually result in social benefit.

Are there any industries which really need a working day longer than eight hours? What tests can you suggest that will decide when people are overworking? Is it correct to speak of "wastes" of overwork?

Since some accidents are bound to occur under even the best conditions, today all large concerns provide a well equipped hospital to care for the injured and the sick among their workers. Capable doctors and nurses are constantly on duty at the expense of the employer. Sometimes these measures for the safety of workers have to be forced upon them. Perhaps this will always be necessary until ignorance and stupidity are abolished. Education and law must always go hand in hand to make both effective.

152. Government Agencies to Aid Labor. — Governments, national, state, or local, may aid labor in three ways: by maintaining bureaus or departments to collect and distribute information and aid in the enforcement of labor laws; by free employment bureaus; and by establishing various forms of social insurance.

The national Department of Labor became a department of the Cabinet in 1913, though for many years some of its present activities had been conducted by other departments. Since labor cannot well be regulated by the national government, the Department's main function is to gather and give out all available information about laboring conditions, and offer advice about labor problems. Public opinion is one of labor's surest weapons, and information is necessary to the formation of sensible public opinion. The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization are connected with this department, as are the Children's Bureau and Women's Bureau, which we have mentioned, a Division of Conciliation, and a Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Free employment bureaus are largely state and local agencies, though the federal government maintained several during the War. They save much time and trouble by making it unnecessary for one to depend upon private employment agencies when in search of a position. Much is also accomplished by getting the right man into the right job.

Social insurance has many phases. One of these is the enactment of employer's liability or workman's compensation laws. These provide that the employer must pay the workers injured in his employ certain specified amounts, depending on the seriousness of the accident. Sometimes such laws apply even when the accident is due to pure carelessness on the part of the worker. The payment usually amounts to half the salary while the worker is incapacitated; or if he can later work only at a position that pays less, half the difference between his earning capacity before and after the accident. If the workman is killed, his relatives must be paid a specified compensation.

In some countries an old-age pension is paid by the government to those who have little or no income. The sum is meant to be only just about enough to live on. Neither our national government nor the states have yet adopted such a program. Some states and cities, however, have pension systems for judges, teachers, policemen, firemen, and other public officers. Several states also pay pensions to mothers who need money for their families, and have no sufficient means of support. During the Great War the United States undertook an unheard-of thing in establishing a system of War Risk Insurance for its soldiers.

Such measures as these are called social insurance, because in the long run the expense goes back to the public in the form of increased taxes or prices. If we feel like grumbling about the matter, let us remember that an accident with its doctor's bill and lessened working strength has often broken up homes, taken children from school, sent men to the poorhouse or death, and made bitter radicals of others. By averting

this kind of thing and spreading the expense over the public at large it becomes almost negligible.

Is there any excuse for pensioning judges, teachers, policemen, or firemen? Might an old-age pension system have any harmful results? Might workmen's compensation acts make workers careless? What is the policy of your state in these matters?

SPECIAL STUDIES

Resolved, that children under eighteen years of age should be forbidden to work regularly for wages.

Child Labor Needs and Laws of My State.

Needs and Laws of My State about Women's Work.

The National Department of Labor.

The Social and Industrial Effects of Fatigue.

Resolved, that a forty-four-hour working week is desirable for workers in factories and stores.

Labor Problems Unknown in 1850.

Mexican Peonage.

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Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 37.

B. Efforts at Self-Protection

If it were necessary to wait for all reforms to be accomplished by law, many of them would be a long time coming. By organization workers can acquire power sometimes even to the extent of monopoly, and thus effectively insist upon measures for their betterment. How has this been done, and to what results has it led?

153. Unions and Their Objects. — In a general sense a labor union is an organization of working men for the promo-

tion of their common interests. Although we use the term to refer to any organization of labor, there are really three kinds. A *trade union* is one made up of workers engaged in the same trade, such as bricklayers or locomotive firemen. An *industrial union* is one composed of men employed in the same industry, such as the United Mine Workers of America, and may include several trades. The *labor union* in the limited sense is an organization of workmen containing men from any trade or industry. It might accept them as individuals, as did the Knights of Labor, or it might be formed by a combination of many trade unions, as is the American Federation of Labor. The National Trade Union, established in 1856, was the name of the first association of this kind. It existed only six years. The Knights of Labor rose up in its place, and grew until it contained 730,000 members in 1886. But it fell into difficulties over politics and other matters and went to pieces.

The American Federation of Labor was organized in 1881. Samuel Gompers, whom it elected president year after year until his death, directed its policies wisely and well. It includes over 100 trade and industrial unions, with a total membership of about 4,000,000. The Federation is organized much like our national government. The unions which compose it have their separate organization and rules, and the Federation unites them into an effective national association.

Capital and management are highly organized. Labor believes that to deal with such organization on equal terms it also must organize. We may therefore summarize the principal objects of unions briefly as follows:

- (1) To gain the bargaining power that comes through organization. One worker is of little consequence as long as he is one, but a thousand ones acting together can often accomplish much.

- (2) To obtain improved conditions of work, shorter hours of labor, and higher wages.

- (3) To supply funds which a member can draw upon in case of

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need, either when out of work or during a strike, or when sick or disabled; and to provide social acquaintance or educational advantages somewhat after the fashion of lodges and clubs. Not all unions undertake to do all these things.

(4) To exert influence upon public opinion and upon law-making.

154. Demands of Unions. — To attain the general objects which unions seek, certain specific demands upon employers



International.

A CROWD OF STRIKERS.

Twelve thousand employees of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company quit work and tied up the city's traffic. Here are shown some of their appeals to the public.

are characteristic and common. Sanitary and comfortable conditions of labor, and the eight-hour day or less, we have already mentioned.

The abolishment of piecework payment is often sought. The laborer claims that in paying by the amount of work done the employer sets the standard by his best workers. If this is

done the average worker and poor worker will have to exert themselves beyond their endurance to make a living wage. Time payment discourages the speeding up of workers, especially if it is coupled with the requirement that "time-and-a-half" or "double-time" pay shall be given for work beyond regular hours. Unions sometimes seek the same end by arbitrary rules limiting the amount of work that a member may do in a day or an hour. This amount is supposed to represent what a fair worker can do without hurting himself, but it is generally considerably below the capacity of the best workers.

To prevent such competition as would tend to keep wages down, unions oppose child labor and desire restriction of immigration. They also desire to set a standard of wages for all workers of a certain class. They generally represent this to be a minimum standard, but in practice it is commonly so high that it becomes uniform for all workers of that type, good or poor. Besides, they claim the right to limit the number of apprentices to trades, and sometimes even oppose trade schools. Such a policy needs to be pursued with great caution, lest it ruin the social value of the industry in even the immediate future, and cause a harmful reaction against the whole union movement.

Most other union demands center around what is sometimes referred to as "recognition" of the union — that is, a definite admission that union officials have the right to act in behalf of the employees of a concern. Fundamental to the whole union program is *collective bargaining*. The unions hold that if the men have to contract as individuals they will be at the mercy of organized capital. They assert that the employer shall deal with his employees through "representatives of their own choosing," who shall make contracts and working arrangements in behalf of all the union members. Employers are frequently willing enough to do this if the representatives are actual employees, but they usually dislike to deal with outsiders who are paid by the unions to carry on their business,

but do no other work. These "business agents" have sometimes been nothing but trouble-makers, who brought unnecessary ill-will upon the unions which gave them authority.

A frequent development of collective bargaining is the *closed shop* — that is, an understanding that all workers in an establishment must be union members. Unions prefer to call such a place a "union" shop. Most employers prefer the *open shop*, where both union men and non-union men may be employed, though some of them go so far as to refuse to employ union men at all. Sometimes, through no fault of an employer, an open shop becomes a non-union shop because of the refusal of union members to work with non-union men. A detail which sometimes is troublesome is the demand of unions for the "check-off" — an arrangement by which the employer deducts the union dues from the workers' pay before giving it to them and then turns the dues over to the union officers directly.

Should overtime be paid a higher rate than regular time? Are there any industries in which the time worked cannot serve as a fair basis for payment? any in which no other basis is possible? What do you think of the *sliding scale* as the basis of payment — an arrangement by which wages move up or down in accordance with the market price of the commodity which they produce? Is the closed shop policy harmful to the worker in any way? Where would you prefer to work, in a union shop, in an open shop, or in a non-union shop? Why? Would collective bargaining be possible if a shop were not unionized?

155. Methods of Unions. — Collective bargaining is both an object which unions seek and a means by which other objects may be gained. If carried on in good spirit it may be helpful to both employer and employee and promote mutual understanding between them. But less pleasant and more radical weapons are also in the hands of unions, to use when collective bargaining alone fails to obtain what they want.

A *strike* or a *walkout* is an organized or deliberate cessa-

tion of work on the part of the laborers. If an employer attempts to continue business with men who have not struck or by using strike-breakers, the strikers may *picket* his works. That is, they may station men near the plant to try to prevent others from working.

Some radicals have indulged in a most unjust and inexcusable practice, called *sabotage*. This consists in the will-



A "PICKET" ON DUTY.

The picture explains the circumstances under which it was taken in Dublin. The policemen evidently are not going to interfere as long as the man does nothing but stand there. If you were the employer in this case what do you think you would do about it?

ful destruction of machinery and supplies to harm the employer. It is a coward's trick. A far-reaching though not necessarily disorderly policy, used in prolonged struggles, is the *boycott*. The workers themselves and all who sympathize with them unite in agreeing to have nothing to do with an employer or to use any of his products. Occasionally a *sympathetic strike* is worked up, when workers

who have no grievance of their own leave work with the idea of bringing pressure to bear indirectly upon another employer, whose men are already out on strike.

A *union label* or trademark is always attached to union-made goods so that people who sympathize with unions can refuse to use any others. Some unions also publish an *un-fair list*, on which they place the names of employers against whom organized labor has some kind of grievance. In "labor" papers such names may be printed under the title, "We don't patronize."

In what way would any of the above methods operate to bring an employer to terms? To how many of them could there be no possible objection, from the viewpoint of a disinterested, impartial person?

156. Their Accomplishments. — When we look over the demands made by unions a half-century ago, or even less, we are astonished to see how many of them have been obtained. For such accomplishments no one can tell how much credit is due to the union and how much to an awakened public conscience and humane spirit. But much undoubtedly is due to the efforts of labor, especially in keeping these matters before the public until action was obtained. The eight-hour day is general; good pay is frequent; child labor and undesirable work for women are limited by law. Foreign contract laborers are forbidden entrance to the country and a limit is set to ordinary immigration. Better working conditions are universal and many employers are themselves trying to find ways of making them still better. Collective bargaining is recognized as just and reasonable. In all these reforms organized labor has had a part.

Now what has been the effect on the workers themselves and upon the communities in which they live? They have more leisure to spend with their families, in recreation, or in improving themselves mentally and spiritually. Their families can have more of the comforts of life. The workers

have acquired more confidence in themselves and an enhanced realization of their own power and importance. They are no longer content to look upon their service as a thing, like pig iron or baled cotton. They have seen it written into our national laws that labor shall not be considered a mere commodity.

In fairness we must recognize that some evil has come along with the good, but fortunately it is in such form that the unions themselves can remove it if they will. Too often there has seemed to be a desire to create situations so that pay could be charged for overtime or for unnecessary work. Some men loaf on their jobs and employers do not dare to discharge them for fear of causing a strike. They willfully do less than they might, so as to "make work" for some other union man. They do not take pride in doing a good job but rather in seeing how little they can do and "get away with it." No honest union man can observe with pride the low morals which some unions display.

Worst of all is the failure of some unions to stand by their agreements. If collective bargaining is to mean anything, it must be binding upon both parties to the bargain. An employer cannot be blamed for refusing to bargain with union leaders who cannot or will not hold their men to their pledged word. Fortunately the ablest union leaders realize this. When President Lewis of the United Mine Workers caused the removal from office of the president of the Kansas union for calling a strike in violation of the law of the state, he did one of the best things for the cause of unionism that could occur.

Is the enforcement of collective bargaining with unions inevitably difficult? Does greed or tyranny on an employer's part excuse dishonorable conduct by a union?

157. Unions and the Government. — When unions first appeared in England they were made illegal and membership in them was criminal. What a tremendous difference today, when from 90 to 95 per cent of English workers are

unionized and a separate Labor party competes in elections for the House of Commons!

When our national Constitution and early state constitutions were made, modern labor problems were unknown in the United States. Not a word that relates directly to such matters do we find in these early documents. Those very convenient beasts of burden, the interstate commerce clause in the powers of Congress and the police power of state governments, have to bear the responsibility for much present-day legislation. Some of our more recent state constitutions, however, do have a few general provisions that concern labor.

Now to what extent do our laws apply to acts done by or against a union in a labor controversy? In some states employers are forbidden to maintain blacklists (§166) or to discharge any worker because he belongs to a union. In other cases boycotting is illegal. Courts have sometimes issued "injunctions" forbidding union members to interfere with the operation of some business, on the ground that such an act would lead to violence and the destruction of property. And recently when some New York employers failed to abide by the terms of a labor contract, the union officials obtained a court injunction against such disregard of agreements. Verily, turn about is fair play.

One other matter was formerly a cause of contention. Are unions subject to prosecution as trusts? They surely might acquire monopoly power and commit acts "in restraint of trade." But after some cases had arisen in which our courts sustained their liability to prosecution under the Sherman Act of 1890, the Clayton Anti-trust Act of 1914 specifically exempted them from any further liability of that kind. The passage of the Adamson eight hour law in 1916 under the threat of a strike by the railroad brotherhoods was another notable victory for union labor. Some believe that all unions should be required to organize under the law as corporations, so that they could be subject to the

same obligations that are imposed on similar organizations of capital.

Several attempts have been made to form labor parties in this country. But because of a tendency toward radical platforms and of a lack of funds they have never become strong. There have been numerous cases in local, state, or congressional elections when the vote of union members has elected or rejected a candidate. A tricky politician will often have himself elected an honorary member of some union, and then to get the votes of the working men will boast that he has a union card. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor always let the country know his choice among national candidates, and in 1924 the Federation officially endorsed La Follette's candidacy, but there is no evidence that the members of the Federation have felt under obligation to vote as a unit at elections. On the whole, labor questions are distinctly economic and social, and not suitable for settlement along party lines.

What harm or benefit might come to a labor group if it sought to gain its objects by forming a separate political party? Some attempts have been made to unite farmers and union laborers in one political organization. Are they likely to be successful? Why?

SPECIAL STUDIES

The History of Labor Unions.

The Knights of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor.

Great Strikes in American History.

Legislation Affecting Labor.

The Effects of the Industrial Revolution upon Labor.

Labor Problems in Other Lands.

Methods of Wage Payment.

Resolved, that the use of the injunction in labor disputes should be forbidden.

Resolved, that the steel industry should be unionized.

Resolved, that boycotts and sympathetic strikes should be severely punished.

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C. The Employer's Interest in the Worker

To discuss labor problems or any others from only one viewpoint would be unfair. What does the employer think about them? Does he take any interest in his workers? If so, how does he show it?

158. **The Employer's Viewpoint.** — Certain notions are perfectly natural for an employer to entertain. He usually feels that the business is *his* business, that he founded it or acquired it honestly, and that his wealth or that of his friends is risked in its operation. Therefore, he believes that the control of it should always remain in his hands, that he should be free to "hire and fire" as he pleases, and that he must decide the policies to be followed. In practice, however, we find at least three groups of employers.

One group holds tenaciously to an extreme interpretation of these ideas. They object on one hand to government regulation — "meddling," they call it — and on the other to any suggestions from their employees about running the business. They want nothing to do with unions, and object to hiring union men. They have no confidence in the intelligence or honor of the ordinary workman. "If the workers run the business," they say, "the first thing they would do would be to vote higher wages, the second, to vote still higher wages, and the next, to abolish work."

A second group of employers conscientiously believe in

the right of the employer to run his own business, but are convinced that it pays to have their workers satisfied. They therefore consent to union agreements if the employees wish to belong to a union, and by such methods as profit-sharing, the payment of bonuses, and welfare work endeavor to make the employees contented and interested in the success of the business. It would not be fair to assume that they do these things only because it pays them, but that is an important consideration.

A third group, less numerous, but including some very successful employers, have largely abandoned the "my business" attitude and look upon industry as a sort of partnership venture, depending for its prosperity upon the well-being of both workers and employer. They want to treat their workers not only fairly but generously. They pay much attention to every form of welfare work and even admit representatives of the workers to a share in the administration of the business. They are sincerely interested in their workers, not only as employees, but as human beings.

In dealing with any particular labor situation we must remember that there are selfish employers and generous employers, as well as unions greedy for power and unions seeking only to protect the rights of their members. Neither the outsider nor any party in an industry is justified in presuming that they are all alike. Now what are some of the measures by which the well-meaning employer tries to promote the interests of his workers?

159. Profit-Sharing. — Profit-sharing is a plan whereby employees receive in addition to their regular wage a specified portion of the net profits of the concern. It may take one of three forms: a cash payment at the end of a specified time, usually a year; a deferred payment, such as a fund accumulated year by year, to be given to the employees in time of need or at the end of a certain period of service; or shares of the company's stock.

Sometimes employers have not gone so far as to share their profits, but they have adopted other systems that are based on a similar idea. Many companies give bonuses to their employees. These are money gifts, separate from the wages, and may be given unexpectedly at vacation time or because of a holiday, but are sometimes given regularly every six months or every year. The system of giving bonuses is not so fixed as profit sharing, but where the class of workers is not so intelligent, it may even be more popular, for a bonus seems like a present, something given for nothing.

Another way to reward faithful service is by a pension system. This provides a fixed sum given every week or month to employees who because of age, sickness, or accident, are no longer able to work. The First National Bank of Chicago puts three per cent of the wages and salaries of its workers away as part of a pension fund. Then when the employees reach the age of sixty, if they have worked for the bank fifteen years, they are given a sum based on their wages. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company gives to its employees when they retire, at an age of from 65 to 70, a pension of 1 per cent of their average monthly wages for the ten years preceding their retirement, multiplied by the number of years they have been in the company's service. The Procter and Gamble Company's pension fund is supported by both the company and the men. It gives a pension in case of old age, disability, or accident. If the worker is killed, the pension is supposed to go to his dependents.

Profit-sharing sounds good. It has worked successfully in a large number of instances. It is an incentive to do good work. It gives the worker an interest in the concern, so that it is in a way his business. When this is the case, he will want to do all he can to make it profitable. And the more he does the more he is paid. Why don't we have more of it?

Some labor unions are opposed to profit-sharing, because they want the employees to look to the union for their benefits, not to the employer. Employers also sometimes object to the plan because the employees share in the profits when business is good, but they do not have to help make up deficits. Sometimes, too, for an employee to get any benefit from some profit-sharing schemes, he must virtually tie himself down to one industry or even one factory for the best part of a lifetime. Employers are usually glad to have skilled workers stay with them indefinitely, but the worker may or may not be benefited by such an arrangement.

Can profit-sharing be applied in every industry? Mention some in which its application would be difficult, some in which it would be easy. How would profit-sharing affect your attitude toward a job?

160. Welfare Work. — Another means of keeping workers in industry is through welfare work. By this we mean services rendered to employees beyond their regular wages, such as the establishment of rest rooms, gymnasiums, recreation rooms and libraries. Athletic teams are often promoted by the employer. And during the reign of high prices lunch rooms and stores were established where goods were bought up by the concern in large quantities and sold at cost price to the employees. Sometimes welfare work even extends to improving the home conditions of the laborers.

At first there was some uncertainty as to how the worker would take to such improvements, and whether he would reject them as "paternal," but the American laborer has usually shown his sense in this way and has received them in the friendly, man-to-man way they were offered. He has shown his appreciation for little things, like fresh air through the factory, an opportunity to change clothes and wash up before leaving, as well as for the bigger improvements, by his loyalty to such employers and by greater

care and faithfulness at his work. Some unions, however, declare that employers should express any brotherly love they may have for their workers by raising their wages instead of spending the money on a restaurant or a gymnasium — that such a scheme is merely a camouflaged way of keeping the workers in their power.

A kind of welfare work sometimes abused in practice is the company store. This is a store carried on by the com-



HOUSES IN A COMPANY TOWN.

These dwellings were built by the Lever Company in their "Model Village" called Port Sunlight. They are rented to their employees virtually at cost. Notice that the company has tried to avoid the discouraging monotony of style that we often find in mining towns in this country.

pany where goods are sold to employees supposedly at a little above cost. But if a worker is forced to buy there or if charge accounts are encouraged, the store may lead to extravagance, and use up all a man's wages before pay-day.

Sometimes a corporation, especially if its factory is in an out-of-the-way place, realizing that married men are more steady workers, builds houses for workers and their families. Sometimes these houses are all built exactly alike, a practice which creates an unpleasant uniformity and ugly-

ness; but this is not at all necessary. The houses may be either rented or sold to the employees on easy terms. A company has been known to construct a whole town, such as Pullman, near Chicago, built by the Pullman Car Company, and Vandergrift, near Pittsburgh, built by the Apollo Iron and Steel Company.

Why are some people so ready to impute selfish motives to employers who perform a service to their employees? With how many forms of welfare work are you familiar? What is meant by "labor turnover"? Why do employers like to keep good men with them permanently?

SPECIAL STUDIES

Systems of Profit-sharing.

The National Cash Register Company (or Procter and Gamble, or some other concern famous for welfare work).

Resolved, that "hiring and firing" is exclusively the employer's right.

Welfare Work of the United States Steel Corporation.

Henry Ford and His Employees.

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Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapters 17, 24.

Adams and Sumner — Labor Problems, Chapter 9.

D. Fitting the Worker and the Job

Unemployment produces poverty, suffering, ignorance, inefficiency, vice, and crime, on the part of the unemployed and of those dependent upon them. To see that the worker has something to do is surely therefore a necessary way to safeguard his interests. Moreover, we should try to qualify everybody to do something and keep the square pegs out of the round holes. How may this desirable end be attained?

161. Why People Are Out of Work. — Before trying to find a remedy for unemployment, let us examine the most

common causes of it. They are often classified in three groups, personal, industrial, and social.

Among the *personal* causes are sickness, improper or insufficient food or clothing, and accident. It has been estimated that for these reasons the average loss of time from work per year for each person is thirteen days. Sometimes such unemployment is only temporary, but frequently a



HELP FOR THE JOBLESS.

Institutions in the poor sections of our large cities are often conducted by social workers to relieve those who are unable to get work. At such places as this the men can get food and lodging either free or at a very low price.

worker's place is filled while he is away; and if his illness or accident is serious, he may never be able to do as good work again. Another group of unemployed are the industrially incapable. This may mean that they are mentally below grade or that they have not had preparation sufficient to fit them to do anything well. Child laborers become stunted in mind and body, and those who start in early on so-called "blind alley" occupations are often unfitted for any kind of permanently profitable work. Still

other personal reasons for unemployment are intemperance, restlessness, and plain laziness.

Industrial causes may be immediately responsible at some one time for more unemployment than personal defects, though probably not in the long run. These include seasonal trades, labor troubles, and business depressions. In many occupations the big demand for workers comes only at certain seasons of the year. Farming, lumbering, canning, the building trades, ice gathering or manufacture, for example, all employ many more workers at one season than another. Strikes and lockouts may throw thousands out of work at one time, and a strike in one trade may completely tie up other trades which depend upon its products. Industrial depressions close down mills, factories, and workshops, and sometimes cause bankruptcy. Such disturbances are not so numerous nor so regular as the seasonal interruptions, but they are serious while they last. Substituting machinery for hand labor and introducing new methods of production are also occasional causes of unemployment.

The chief *social* cause is the immobility of labor. Men who have the capacity and knowledge to do good work are sometimes unwilling to go to a new community or different section of the country, even though their chances of getting employment would be much better there. If they or their families have always lived in a certain neighborhood, they hate to break away from old friendships and relations. They are willing to stay where they are, living on moderate wages and sometimes going without employment, rather than move to a new place. This fact has much to do with the crowding of workers in cities, and is an important reason why in some neighborhoods the standard of wages is low. Another social hindrance is ignorance of opportunity; for sometimes when a worker is perfectly willing to go wherever he can find employment, he does not know where there is a demand for his trade or profession.

Make a list of cases within your knowledge of present or recent unemployment, explaining why in each case. If certain ones were laid off while others in the same occupation were not, what was the reason? From what you read, does unemployment seem a more or less serious problem in your community than elsewhere? Why? Must we expect always to find a considerable amount of unemployment?

162. Providing Employment. — "To correct an evil, remove the cause," is always good advice — if it can be carried out. Can we remove the causes of unemployment? Some personal causes nobody can remedy except the loafer, the drug fiend, or the criminal himself. Sickness, poor food, and accident are also in many cases the individual's fault. What the community can do in preventing such misfortunes has been mentioned in our discussion of the problem of Protecting Health. Preventing unemployment due to inefficiency is now recognized as a proposition serious enough to call for special activity in our schools, as we shall see in the next section. Trade unions also give some assistance at this point through their training of apprentices.

The removal of the industrial causes of unemployment is probably no more important than the removal of other causes, but the need is more evident to the public. Seasonal trades will always be seasonal trades in much of our country. But to meet some of these seasonal demands there has grown up a class of "migrant workers" who go from wheatfield to wheatfield, or from cannery to cannery, or from mill to lumber camp, and work a little while at a time. Some are ready to say that in this case the remedy is worse than the disease, for among these migrant workers ignorance, immorality, and lack of responsibility are almost inevitable. The conditions in which such workers live are often frightful, and their children grow up in almost the worst possible surroundings.

But suppose a man really wants a permanent job? Where can he look for it? He can answer "ads" in the

newspapers, of course. He can go to the "personnel department" of shops or factories. He can register in an employment agency and by promising to pay them part of his first earnings secure the names of people who want workers. Such agencies, however, have sometimes been so dishonestly or incompetently managed that now many states and cities maintain public employment agencies to do such work, and demand that private agencies be licensed. Public bureaus have special advantages in learning of demands for workers in different places, so that a worker who is willing to move is less likely to need to remain idle. The problem of employment becomes much more serious in a period of business depression such as followed the Great War. Then philanthropic societies such as the Salvation Army try particularly to secure positions for applicants. Some employers try to relieve a slack season by employing many of their workers part of the time instead of laying off a large number entirely.

It has been urged, too, that cities and other local governments should plan street construction or other civic improvements so as to be done at times when work is scarce. But communities which attempt such a program must guard against the extravagance of making unnecessary improvements just to hire men. Public insurance against unemployment has also been proposed. Such a plan calls for very careful management lest it should encourage indifference and laziness on the part of those little inclined to work.

Is the labor turnover likely to be greatest among skilled or unskilled workers? If you were a laborer out of work in your own community, but looking for a job, what course of action would you probably follow? Would you do any differently if you were a skilled worker? a college graduate who had specialized in some particular line? What does your state or community do to relieve unemployment? What more, if anything, could it do?

To what extent does the responsibility for unemployment rest on employers?

163. Preparing for a Life Work. — If inefficiency is the cause of unemployment or of poor employment, the remedy is preparation. Preparation must come through experience. Some of it can be gained only in the "University of Hard Knocks," but much of it can be acquired by studying the experience of others. This is why the average college graduate beats out the high school graduate and the eighth-grade graduate, even though he is four years or eight years later beginning his earning period — he knows so much more when he begins.

Trade unions like to control the preparation for trades, but since they generally limit the number of apprentices they will accept and since in many cases they are qualified to teach only the manual part of the trade, some educational agency, public or private, must undertake it. Every up-to-date local school system now gives some attention to vocational training or study. Many states lay special stress on this phase of education. The national government has aided education more along this line than any other, perhaps, for it has for over fifty years given help to state agricultural colleges, and the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 (§ 14) provided assistance for other forms of vocational instruction as well. There are also a number of private technical schools and colleges.

Now how much should and can the school do in training for a life work? For those who think they know what they want, commercial and technical courses can be provided. Even the small rural school can make much of its work directly helpful on the farm. In some cases, such as in Cincinnati and Fitchburg, a high degree of coöperation has been planned between the public schools and the leading industries of the place, so that in their part-time courses practical experience, with pay, is afforded in the shops, alternating with class-room instruction. It is too bad that not everybody can have the benefit of a sound, general high school course, for these special courses give only a limited

and specialized type of education; but it is surely better for them to get something than nothing.

But what shall we do for those who do not know their own minds? The general run of high school freshmen do not, even though they may think they do. Here is the opportunity for vocational guidance. In a large school one or more teachers may give their entire time to the work, either by giving class instruction or by personal tests and interviews. They need not and usually should not try to force a pupil into a particular occupation, but can give him some acquaintance with the needs, opportunities, and methods of preparation for various trades and professions, and help him to make a choice.

To make such a decision hastily or prematurely is a great mistake, but it is perhaps even worse folly never to think about one's life work. To find the qualities which we possess most fully, to learn the demands of various occupations and compare our talents with these demands, so that our life work may be both joyous and efficient, is a duty that we owe to our community and should form a vital part of our education, whether we get it privately or by formal instruction. Above all, let us not make money the only goal in our life-work. A titled snob once said to the English statesman, John Bright, "I am worth one million pounds sterling." "Yes," replied Mr. Bright, "and that's all you are worth."

In a class of 114 high school seniors, 59 thought they knew when they entered high school what their life work was to be, but 38 of these changed their minds before graduation. How do these figures compare with the facts for your own class? If you have settled on your occupation, why did you adopt it? If you changed your mind about it, why did you do so? If you have not decided yet, why haven't you? Make a list of the trades or professions which the members of your class are seriously considering, and study the qualities and extent of preparation demanded by each.

164. Women in the Industrial World. — Woman in industry is no new feature. In primitive times she did a large

part of the work. Before the time of factories she made the clothing for the family, and she has always done considerable factory work. But now her industrial activities are so numerous that we give them special consideration. About 10,000,000 women are now wage-earners, and they are found in nine-tenths of all the occupations. Why has woman left the home to take up outside employment?

In many cases, it is because she desires to work. Perhaps she dislikes housework, or has little or none to do. It may be because she dislikes to be dependent, or wishes certain luxuries which she would not feel like demanding from the rest of the family. Perhaps she has unusual talent in some art or profession and would be unhappy and less useful out of it. The transfer of many forms of production from the home to the factory created a demand for woman's work which has met a ready response. It is no longer a disgrace for a girl to earn her own living.

Often she works because she must. Many unmarried, orphaned, or widowed women refuse to live on charity — and more power to them! The increased cost of living, or some misfortune to the husband or father, may make his income insufficient and the woman must work to support the family. During the Great War, when there was much work to be done and fewer than usual to do it, women heroically filled many positions out of their ordinary sphere.

What are the results of women's "invasion" of industry? Good, in some respects, we must admit. They can do some things even better than men, and many things just as well. At least one-third of the office work is done by women, and four-fifths of the teaching, especially below the high school. They have contributed a new labor force to industry. Some of them have been transformed from helpless idlers or parasites, waiting for some man to come and get them, into self-respecting competent workers, able to look out for themselves. Besides, if a girl learns some

special work before she marries, she has less reason to fear or worry if some emergency or trouble arises later.

On the other hand, the standard of women's wages is low, and this may react unfavorably on the wages of men. Sweat shop workers were largely women and children. Low wages, too, may lead to insufficient food or clothing or to immoral living. But sometimes the "lure of the big wage" or the desire for a "career" takes women's interests out of the home, makes them unwilling to marry, and keeps them dissatisfied with the home if they do marry. A woman who is in the house only nights and Sundays can not be much of a home-maker. If there are children in such a home, the result may be disastrous. Society can afford to pay mothers' pensions to keep homes together; but it is hard to justify taking a poodle to Palm Beach while a hired maid looks out for the children.

Home-making is, after all, the big "career" to which most girls should look forward. If present-day parents do not teach girls how to cook and sew and handle the other home duties, the school must do it, so that the next line of mothers may do better than the present. It is too bad that house-work has been taboo among American white girls as a means of earning a living. There is no reason why that valuable service should be passed over to black Dinah or Swedish Inga or Polish Mary.

Make a list of 10 occupations for which women are better fitted than men; 10 for which they are equally fitted; 10 for which they are less fitted; 10 which they should avoid. Does the working girl have a better or poorer opportunity to marry than the one who stays at home? What has done most to equalize the status of men and women,—education, religion, industry, or something else?

∴ To safeguard the priceless human element in industry, we must have coöperation from every interested party. The workers may unite to protect themselves by any reasonable method. Employers must get a broader vision than to-day's payroll. The community through laws must protect those who cannot protect themselves and through education must direct preparation for one's life work

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into proper channels. Each individual must feel his responsibility for becoming a useful member of society.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Unemployment in Our Community.

Private Employment Agencies.

Vocational Guidance.

The Problem of Domestic Service.

Part-time and Coöperative Schools.

Women Workers from the Employer's Viewpoint.

Woman's Rise toward Equality.

Women as a Factor in Labor and the Professions.

Women's Political and Legal Rights.

Resolved, that community kitchens are a benefit.

Resolved, that for work of equal character and quality women and men should receive the same pay.

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XIV. ASSURING INDUSTRIAL PEACE

The employer and the laborer seem to see everything from different viewpoints and through different-colored glasses. At point after point their interests seem to conflict. Can peace and harmony be established between them? If so, how?

165. Who Are Interested?—We often speak of the struggle between capital and labor as a conflict between two forces of humanity. True, practically every one is either an employer or an employee; but in any given dispute one may have no part whatever. There is always a third factor—the public, which uses, but does not produce, any particular commodity or service. Does this third factor have any concern in the fight?

After a strike there is usually a rise in prices to pay the workmen higher wages or to pay for the loss suffered during the strike. Who must pay these prices, or, in other words, pay the cost of the strike? Necessarily the public, those who are said to have no interest in the matter. Frequently a necessity of life, such as milk or street car service, is tied up or interrupted by a labor disturbance. Is it the few people in that industry or all the people at large that suffer most? During the police strike in Boston, was it the city or state officials or the policemen that suffered from the inrush of thieves and crooks, or was it the “third party,” the public?

Suppose there is a strike in the steel industry. Trace out fully every other activity which would be affected.

Could the same individual have the interests of a capitalist in one affair, of a laborer in another, and of the public in a third?

If, as is often the case, a labor dispute leads to violence, public property and that of outsiders are endangered as well as the employer's. Moreover, for any harm done to

the employer's property the public must pay in higher prices or in taxes; for if the city or county does not afford proper protection the owner will demand payment for the damages. The public must pay for the police and soldiers



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DRILLING AND LOADING ANTHRACITE COAL.

Anthracite coal is found almost exclusively in that part of Pennsylvania in which Scranton is the largest city. Do you think you would enjoy this kind of work? Do you imagine that it would be healthful? Scranton and other places have suffered much from cave-ins due to careless mining.

necessary to keep the peace. The strikers' families suffer, and the creditors of these families suffer, when no money is being earned. The employer may be forced to break contracts, which will handicap if not bankrupt other concerns.

Industrial groups are coming to realize that their quarrels

are not their own. There can be no such thing as a "private war" between capital and labor. Not to mention the class jealousy and ill-will created by labor troubles, which break up social unity, we all have something at stake in every sizable industrial controversy. Interdependence of individuals is universal. Any dispute may have nation-wide effects.

166. What is Wrong in Industry? — There was a time when an employer had eight or ten "hired help," with whom he had an intimate personal acquaintance. He was the "boss," but each of his men could hope to become a boss himself some day. Probably the employer himself made his way up from the ranks and knew just how the "man in the overalls" felt about things.

But the factory system and large-scale production have completely changed all this. They have made "impersonality" the distinguishing feature of modern big business. The employer and employed lose their characteristics as men and become "agents in production." Misunderstanding is inevitable, and not wholly the fault of either. The employer of hundreds or even thousands of men can not hope to know John Czernski except as number 1216, if at all. John is hired and fired by the "boss" of his department. Men come and go, but the head of the business has no time to inquire who or why.

The high degree of specialization brought about by large-scale production intensifies this impersonality. These are not weavers, and those, tailors — they are "processes" twelve and eighteen. A man who does nothing but tighten bolt 15 in the body of an automobile cannot feel any pride in the finished product. And what can be the effect of doing nothing but stabbing hogs in the neck day after day! The worker becomes narrowminded, or mechanical, dead in soul.

When laborers, feeling hopeless to help themselves without organization, form unions and demand changes from employers, the latter may simply fight back. Their ex-

planation of the formation of "employer's associations" is that without them an individual employer might be at the mercy of a union directed by a highly paid, unscrupulous "agent" who had no personal interest in the business. In serious cases the employer may try a *lockout*—shut down his factory and refuse to permit any work until the men



Courtesy Swift and Co.

DRESSING SHEEP IN A GREAT MEAT-PACKING ESTABLISHMENT.

The carcasses are hung on a kind of gravity trolley system and pass from one workman to another at a uniform speed. There are about fifty operations in dressing sheep. Would the relations between employer and employees in such an establishment have any effect upon general conditions in the industry?

come to terms. Employers keep records of undesirable workmen, and by exchanging *blacklists* they attempt to keep such men out of one another's shops.

All these things bring an industrial war. That is the right word. A picture from the scene of a labor dispute sometimes looks as if it came from northern France in 1918. Yes, there is much in modern industry that is wrong. Too little personal relationship, too much misunderstanding; too little sense of humanity, too much class consciousness;

too little spirit and soul, too much machinery; too little regard for others' rights, too much greed and selfishness and willingness to fight for power and control.

167. The "Right" to Strike and to Work. — Labor organizations invariably insist upon the right to strike as unquestioned and necessary. In theory we may not deny the right of any man to work or not to work as he chooses, unless his action involves the breaking of a contract. And as a general statement no one may deny the right of one thousand men to act similarly. We certainly have no right to prohibit strikes without providing other suitable means just as effective to secure justice. Yet when an employer "strikes" by means of a lockout, unions are sometimes appalled by the unfairness of it.

Men who are out on a strike frequently try to prevent others from working. It is under such circumstances that trouble most often occurs. If picketing is nothing more than peaceful argument, it is surely within a citizen's rights; but sometimes clashes occur between pickets and guards hired by the employer, and personal encounters result between strikers or their sympathizers and those who wish to work. Yet has not one man the same right to work that another has to decline to work? The professional strike-breaker or "scab" is not popular, and we cannot wonder at the fact; but the case seems to be different when some of the regular employees of an establishment prefer to continue working, or when others are willing to take permanent jobs. The chief reason why unions usually desire the closed shop is to make it possible for them to control as a unit the entire labor force in an establishment.

If you had been employed in a factory twenty years when a strike was ordered there, what course of action would you probably pursue? If a family were dependent upon your daily earnings, and your union officers ordered you to strike, would your first obligation be due to your family or to the union?

The general public is inclined to believe that there are certain conditions when the absolute *right* to strike must be denied. First, when it is in violation of a contract, and the employer has not violated his share of it. Second, when it prevents the production or transportation of a necessity of life. The harm a railroad strike might do to a nation would be greater in most cases than any possible injustice to the employees, if other means of settlement of a controversy were available. Third, when it concerns government employees, such as policemen and firemen, who have taken oath to serve the public. Fourth, when all other available means of settlement have not been tried. The effects of a strike are so serious and far-reaching that it must be kept as a last resort. And public sentiment will not long be on the side of strikers if they resort to violence to gain their ends.

The state has the right to say that you shall go to school whether you like the teacher or not. Why? Should it have the same right to say that certain industries must be carried on whether everybody connected with them is satisfied or not? Here is the oath taken by the policemen of Boston upon becoming members of the force: "I do solemnly swear that I will bear allegiance to the United States and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and will support the Constitution and laws thereof, so help me God. I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully and impartially perform all the duties incumbent upon me as a police officer of the city of Boston." Was a person who had taken such an oath justified in leaving his post whether he had a grievance or not against his superior officers, knowing the results which must follow such action? Is there any difference between public employees and employees of private organizations in regard to the right to strike? Are unions correct in asserting that the right to strike is essential to the freedom of labor and the assurance of justice? Is the closed shop necessary to the life of the union? Do strikers have the right to march in the streets or on sidewalks whenever they please? What object could they have in doing so?

168. **Agencies for Settling Disputes.** — No doubt strikes would be far more common, and surely would be more generally justifiable if they were the only means of forcing an

employer to do justice by his men. But the public's concern about essential industries is so great that it has caused the setting up of numerous agencies to aid in settling disputes. Sometimes conferences are arranged between the two contending parties, but usually these accomplish little because both sides are unyielding. Sometimes arbitrators representing the public are called into such conferences. In such cases their opinion usually decides the issue.

Most of the states now have a bureau or board of conciliation or mediation with the right to investigate any in-



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AN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE IN SESSION.

This is one of the numerous conferences that have been held in Washington in recent years. Representatives of business interests, labor, and the public at large were all represented here.

dustrial controversy, and publish their findings. But their most valuable service is in acting as mediators or arbitrators. Seldom do they have any power to command employers or employees to listen to them or to accept their offers of help. But such offers are frequently accepted, and

if a labor board or mediation officer has acquired a reputation for intelligence and fairmindedness, their opinions are likely to be accepted by both parties.

The federal government also has a Board of Mediation and Conciliation, which has the kind of power just referred to. Under the Watson-Parker Act (1926) it has the right to assist in bringing the two sides together when a dispute has arisen on our railroads. During the Great War the War Labor Board was set up, to consider industrial disputes, and settled dozens of them in a reasonably satisfactory manner.

On several notable occasions mayors and governors have intervened to bring about settlements. President Roosevelt did likewise in the anthracite coal strike of 1902 and President Wilson in the still more far-reaching coal strike of 1919. Not even a president, however, has any legal authority in such a matter. He can simply urge whatever action he believes public interests require, and the measure of his success will depend upon the extent to which public opinion is back of him.

Formerly, more often than to-day, one side or the other would say, "We have nothing to arbitrate." Such an attitude, however, usually antagonizes public opinion, for if one party's case is so sound that there could be no honest disagreement with it, surely it could not suffer by being submitted to impartial arbitrators. Labor unions sometimes oppose public arbitration boards, asserting that they are made up of people prejudiced on the side of capital, or that at best their decision will be a compromise — a vain attempt to try to please both sides. But since labor has more votes than capital, even a politically appointed board would probably not decide everything against labor. Besides, even a partly unsatisfactory decision might mean less hard feelings and loss of wages than a prolonged strike.

Does your state support a board of conciliation or something like it? If so, study some cases with which it has dealt.

169. Is Compulsory Arbitration Desirable? — Many people think that when two parties do not settle an industrial dispute between themselves, they should be forced to submit it to a public board of arbitration and that the decision of this board should be binding. New Zealand, Australia, and Norway have adopted systems of compulsory arbitration based on this idea. Strikes and lockouts are made illegal, though they sometimes occur.

Canada has a system which virtually requires the arbitration of disputes, but not compulsory adherence to its decisions. A public board investigates disputes, renders its opinion and then leaves the matter to public opinion, thinking that the people will demand the enforcement of the decision. Indeed, that is often all it really can do, for it is virtually impossible to force every one of several hundred or thousand strikers to go to work if they do not wish to, or even a majority of them.

The nearest thing to compulsory arbitration that we have had in this country is the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. The makers of the court intended that all controversies involving essential industries should be submitted to its decision before a strike or lockout should occur. The United States Supreme Court ruled that this was contrary to the Constitution. Whatever one thinks of the court, we must admit that its object is laudable — that essential industries shall not be interrupted merely because the parties connected with them disagree about something. Through putting the facts before a supposedly impartial board a reasonable decision is possible. The public gets information on the basis of which it may demand justice. Both sides have a chance to cool off before breaking relations — a fact which may in itself bring about settlement.

The chief arguments against compulsory arbitration are that forcing a person to work against his wishes is really "involuntary servitude" and therefore un-American, and that the enforcement of decisions will often be impossible.

But, in the words of a New York editor, "The American public does not long tolerate the idea that it is a beast of burden to be driven now by one private class and now by another for selfish gain." It does not see why it must suffer just because one or two groups are stubborn or unreasonable.

170. Industrial Democracy. — For some time we have had a considerable measure of political and social democracy, but we did not carry it over into industry. Large-scale industry, at least, was an autocracy. By democracy in industry we mean the organization of a concern so that the employees have a voice in its management, as far as it concerns the employees in any way. A common plan is to have the workers elect a house of representatives, the bosses, foremen, or heads of departments, elect a senate, and the management constitute a cabinet. The whole system then operates somewhat like a state or national government. Frequently the organization is not quite so formal as this. The representatives of the workers may be known as a shop council, but the principle of the employee representation is the same. In a few cases, labor representatives are admitted to the board of directors.

In numerous instances this plan works a marvelous improvement in the morale of the establishment. It stimulates the workers' interest. They feel that they have a real part in the business, and they work harder and more conscientiously. Production is increased, and waste and inefficiency are decreased. There are no labor controversies. All parties, having full acquaintance with the facts about the business, understand the others. The employer realizes the workers' needs and the employees do not demand what is unreasonable. The workers' representatives are of their own body, not outsiders who do not understand conditions, and a spirit of friendliness pervades the whole plant.

But will it work everywhere? It has been tried in every

part of the country and in many kinds of industries. Investigators declare that it fails only when one side or the other has not entered fully into the spirit of the thing. Sometimes an employer permits the setting up of a form of workers' representation but pays little or no attention to their desires or suggestions. In industry, as in government, the form of democracy without the spirit of coöperation will gain little. But even in factories where many workers are foreigners, it is said that the adoption of a real industrial democracy has helped to make them intelligent, interested, and efficient.

Labor organizations have sometimes opposed industrial democracy because of the feeling that it was urged by employers for their own benefit. Yet the American Federation of Labor has gone on record as favoring the principle when equal standing in the plan is given to both employers and employees. Really, the welfare of one promotes the welfare of the other. Industrial democracy promises a great deal for the promotion of common understanding and the general welfare.

Are there any large-scale occupations in which this kind of labor organization could not be expected to work? Would labor unions of the usual type succeed any better? Would industrial democracy destroy labor unions? Should the union be regarded as simply a means of securing justice, which might in time outlive its usefulness, or is it something to be perpetuated for its own sake?

171. Industrial Ideals. — People sometimes say, usually in excusing themselves for laziness, "The world owes every man a living." On that philosophy they base their policy of doing as little as they can. If every one worked on that theory, however, there would be little progress in the world, for progress depends upon people's doing more than merely keeping alive would require them to do. It would be much truer to say, the world owes every man what he earns. What he does for the world, rather than what he would like to have, is the sound basis for what the world ought to do for him.

But wages alone are not enough for the worker, though

sometimes he may mistakenly think so. A living wage plus an interest in his work and ideals for higher things for himself and his associates he must have, if he is to be anything more than a part of a machine. If his daily toil must be mechanical routine, his employer should at least see to it that his leisure moments can be spent comfortably, and the community must give him every opportunity for uplifting recreation and mental and spiritual advancement.

Must we forever proceed on the assumption that industry is a fight between capital and labor, to see which can



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LABOR AND CAPITAL IN CONFERENCE.

The two prominent figures in the picture are Samuel Gompers, late President of the American Federation of Labor, and Charles M. Schwab, famous as a financier and business man.

get the more out of the other? "Competition is the life of trade," they used to tell us. But in practice cut-throat competition, whether between employer and employee or between employer and employer, has been the death of happiness and the curse of industry. We preach now a new doctrine of coöperation. Let each see how much can be done by working with the rest. "Live and let live."

And let each see how well he can do the job, not how much poor work he can "get away with."

We cannot reach the new ideals over night. Prejudice, the memory of past wrongs, misunderstanding — all these and more cannot be wiped out by a word. The sins of past injustice and tyranny are visited upon another generation of employers, most of whom want to be square; and the rascality of a few obscures the good intentions of the many. But let not the wage-earner be over-harsh until he can atone for the deeds of the greedy, the slacker, the willful disturber, the destroyer of property and life, in his own ranks. These evils can be overcome if we seek unitedly the better things instead of brooding over past wrongs.

Both employer and wage-worker, too, must be square with the public that supports them both. There *can* be no more private wars. There must be regard for the interests of all. "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work" is a fine motto, as far as it goes. "Good service at a reasonable price" supplements it admirably. We are not talking about Utopia. We can have all this in the United States of America.

∴ Labor and capital must for their own good and for the sake of the public be willing to allow their disagreements to be settled without interruption of service to the people, if any means of fair settlement are available. Cooperation, not strife, is the ideal for both elements in industry.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Resolved, that every state should maintain an industrial court patterned in principle on that of Kansas.

Compulsory Arbitration in Australia and New Zealand.

Conciliation and Mediation Agencies in Our States.

Resolved that the best interests of America require the maintenance of the open shop in industry.

Industrial Democracy in Operation.

The Federal Government in Labor Disputes.

The Whitley Councils.

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REFERENCE READINGS

Bloomfield — Problems of Labor.

Commons — Industrial Government.

Basset — When the Workmen Help You Manage.

Adams and Sumner — Labor Problems, Chapter 8.

Rowe — Society, Chapter 27.

Cleveland and Schafer — Democracy in Reconstruction, Chapters 12, 14.

Lessons in Community and National Life, A-9, B-12.

Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapters 25, 26.

Bryce — Modern Democracies, Chapters 51, 55.

XV. USING WISELY THE GIFTS OF NATURE

Back of all the activities of capital and labor are the gifts of Nature. Without them the wealth of the capitalist and the brawn of the laborer are alike helpless. We have already observed hastily (§ 2) the abundance of resources with which Nature endowed us. How have these been used? How shall we use them to make them most valuable to ourselves and our successors?

172. **How Have We Used Them?**—When the colonists came here, they found fertile lands, great forests, minerals, and water power in abundance. Here before them were the greatest undeveloped resources in the world. Almost half the total area of the country was covered with splendid forests, growing on some of the most fertile land in the world. To this was added a climate varied enough to make almost all kinds of cultivation possible. Beneath the ground lay untold wealth in minerals.

It is little wonder they were too careless to think of economy. Many had come in search of wealth and better living conditions. Therefore they took advantage of their opportunity and used these resources in whatever way would bring them most immediate wealth. It never occurred to them that there might be a limit to the amount of this wealth. Whole forests were burnt to clear the land—indeed, they had little other use for them, except to build cabins and as fire-wood. Coal was taken out only where it was thickest and easiest to work. The few far-sighted people who realized the evil that was being done, had less influence with governors and legislatures than those whose greed made them reckless with Nature's bounty or whose blind ignorance concealed their folly.

Finally, in the administration of President Roosevelt, conservation was brought before the country as a national problem. He called a conference on the subject which assembled in 1908 at the White House, and was attended by governors from the states and territories, Congressmen, and other delegates. In later years this "House of Governors" assembled under its own management and con-



Courtesy U. S. Forest Service.

CLEANING UP THE FOREST.

The work ought always to be done as well as this, but unfortunately it is not.

sidered a variety of matters. From this time on conservation has been recognized as a settled policy of the federal government, and the only questions have been about the means to carry it out. In connection with this movement, praise and credit must be given to Gifford Pinchot, chief of the National Forest Service, whose personal friendship with Roosevelt was probably responsible for awakening the latter's interest, and to President Van Hise of the Univer-

sity of Wisconsin, whose book, "The Conservation of Natural Resources," received a wide reading. Others less famous also contributed their share toward arousing the country to its danger.

173. Principles of Conservation.—The Creator doubtless put the minerals in the earth, the power in the streams, and the trees in the woods to be of some use to man. Conservation does not require us to refrain entirely from using these marvelous gifts of Nature or to hoard up unused resources. *Conservation* means simply such wise use of our resources as will permit them to be preserved or replenished for the future. It means more thorough and careful systems of mining and forestry. It means proper cultivation of the soil, protection for the animals, and careful use of water. It means keeping under the care of the government those things that would be destroyed or wasted by greedy private interests.

Natural resources are not all alike and therefore different types need different treatment. Some are inexhaustible; they renew themselves, as air and usually water. Others, such as coal, gas, oil, and the metals, are not only exhaustible but cannot be renewed by man. A third group, which includes our forests and soil-fertility, can be exhausted but also in time renewed.

To make conservation successful we must do three things: educate, legislate, and coöperate. Education, to show the public how to get and use our resources with the least possible waste, is the first step. Since there are always some who, in spite of education and reason, insist on robbing Nature to get rich quick, laws must be passed to restrain them and to prohibit the waste of our raw materials. To make education and legislation effective, we must have coöperation between citizens to respect the laws and see that others obey them, and to thwart selfish attempts to take advantage of public property for private

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gain. And we must have coöperation between state governments and the national government lest the short-sighted policy of one state should deprive the people of resources which should benefit the whole nation.

Does conservation mean sacrifice? If so, by whom? For whose benefit?

174. Conserving the Forests.—When the timberlands of our country were first used to serve the needs of men,



Courtesy U. S. Forest Service.

FOREST RANGERS AT WORK.

This scene is in the Shasta National Forest, California. Building bridges is one of the many things which foresters have to do.

the best trees were selected. They were cut carelessly, the stumps left high and the branches lying where they fell. The young trees were crushed under the weight of the larger ones. To clear the land, a great deal of timber was burned. The result of this is that today only 65 per cent of the former forest area remains. Only a little over

one-fourth of our total area is forest land. Moreover we are cutting timber three times as fast as it grows.

Until 1891 this extravagance was allowed to go on unchecked. In that year Congress passed a law giving the President power to set aside any public forest lands as forest reservations. This power has been exercised by various presidents, especially Roosevelt, so that today about 176,000,000 acres are contained in reservations. Wood is sometimes cut on these reservations but under careful regulations, and on some of the land pasturing sheep or cattle is permitted.

In 1897, a Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture was established. This Bureau tries to promote the wise use of forest resources and their preservation. It has reforested thousands of acres of land. Its "rangers" each have charge of a district of forest. They help to build roads, bridges, and trails. If from their "lookout" they see a fire or anything else that is wrong they can summon help by wireless. In this way much has been saved. Even the airplane aids them in their work. Nearly all state colleges and those the government helps financially give courses in forestry where men may learn to become rangers and may learn to plant and care for trees.

There are also wastes in manufacturing; almost half of the entire volume of logs is lost in milling. In obtaining tar, pitch, and turpentine from pine trees the cuts are often made so deep that the tree can only live a few years. Waste from decay and disease of trees, and the ravages of insects can also be prevented by proper treatment. By-products have been wasted in milling lumber, such as turpentine, wood alcohol, and wood pulp for making paper.

But by far the greatest loss has been from fire, caused by sparks from locomotives, by careless campers, and in other ways. The fire loss from 1880 to 1896 and the cost of reforestation amounted to over \$100,000,000. This could have been prevented by the expenditure of about \$20,000,000.

Half the states now have established forestry departments. Some, such as Pennsylvania and New York, are doing excellent work. Most states require great care on the part of railroads, campers, and hunters. But privately owned timber land is not nearly well enough guarded, and when the state cannot get hold of it, the trees are ruthlessly cut down.

Few people realize the importance of forests to a nation. We think too often merely of their value in turning out



Courtesy U. S. Forest Service.

A FOREST FIRE IN COLORADO.

This was started by a logging engine, but the cause of many such fires has no excuse whatever.

chairs or toothpicks! Forests regulate the water supply of our streams. Without trees, excessive evaporation would soon cause our water supply to shrink. Trees are an important factor in keeping the land fertile. They do much to lessen the danger from great winds. And, by no means a small thing, they bring a beauty into our lives that would be sadly missed. Who that has seen the great red-woods of California can ever forget them!

What is the purpose of Arbor Day? Do you observe it? Is it practical? Is it sentimental to regret cutting down a great tree?

175. Wise Use of Water Resources.—The conservation of forests and of the water supply are closely linked together, for it is the forests that retain the water and prevent floods and droughts. Water is not only an essential to life, for health and cleanliness, but is tremendously important industrially, for power, for transportation, and for irrigation. The problem of city water systems we have already mentioned (§§ 40, 41). As the coal supply diminishes, the value of water as a source of power becomes constantly greater. Many railroads are now using electric power to some extent, and cities use it almost to the exclusion of anything else for lighting. The industrial value of water power — “white coal” — is so great that many capitalists have tried to obtain control of the supply, and have bought water sites for private gain. At the present time about 65 per cent of the water power of our country is controlled by ten groups of people and only one-seventh is in the hands of the government.

This control is a serious menace to the people because it takes away from the whole people what of right belongs to them, and bestows Nature's gifts upon a few individuals. Public control of water power is necessary to secure reasonable charges, to develop and use wisely the power itself, to promote safety through careful construction of dams, and the like. To keep in proper control water power on our public land, a Federal Water Power Board, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture, has been established, to pass judgment on any applications from private citizens for the use of it.

Water as a means for transportation has been discussed earlier (§105), and its importance in agriculture is mentioned below (§180). In some industries, too, water is one of the raw materials necessary for production. It is esti-

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mated that the economic use of water could be developed from seven to ten times as much as it is today. Wise use of our water supply, it is said, will (1) reduce freight rates; (2) relieve railroad congestion; (3) reduce flood damage and soil erosion; (4) reclaim flooded and swamp lands and irrigate deserts; (5) increase available power; (6) save fuel. But we must be sure that its use accrues to the bene-



WHITE COAL.

This is said to be the highest spillway in the world. It is at Longlake Washington, not far from Spokane. It furnishes light and power for several hundred square miles of territory. The dam, which is 150 feet high, backs up the water of the Spokane River so as to form a lake 21 miles long.

fit of the public and not merely of a few greedy, if far-sighted, individuals.

Flood control is one phase of the problem of water conservation. Plans are under way, through the coöperation of state governments and the national government, to acquire land near the heads of important rivers. By constructing

reservoirs at such points, surplus water may be stored up in rainy seasons, preventing floods at such times and drought later.

176. Preserving Natural Attractiveness. — One phase of conservation is not so important economically, but its value to the soul and mind is immeasurable. Our country is unsurpassed by any in beautiful scenery. We have forests, glaciers, waterfalls, lakes, and mountains that people travel many miles to see. Are they to be destroyed merely because some people want to use those places for selfish financial gain, or to be seized as private pleasure grounds which the public must pay to enter?

Mines are sunk in our mountains, the trees cut and burned, our rivers are lined with unsightly factories. Natural resources must by all means be used, but let us use them in such a way as to least destroy their beauty. Many factories can be reasonably attractive. Power can be taken from Niagara Falls without ruining its majesty.

In order to prevent land containing special scenic beauty from being denuded and made ugly, or seized for private gain, the national, state, and city governments have set much of it aside as parks. The most important national parks are Yellowstone, Yosemite, and Glacier National Parks. They are open to the public and cared for by the National Park Service in the Department of the Interior. Other wonder spots are set apart as National Monuments. New York has made a state reservation of the land adjoining Niagara Falls, and similar action has been taken by other states.

No less than our scenic beauty, we must try to preserve our animal life. Fish have been taken by the netful. One of our most prolific birds, the passenger pigeon, is now extinct. Our great herds of bison are reduced to a few. Are our descendants only to see these animals in zoos, and to be deprived of hunting and fishing? Every state now has

its fish and game laws, which limit the length of the fishing and hunting season and the number and size of animals and fish that may be taken or killed by any one person.

Besides restricting the killing, the government has started to renew the supply. States have built fish hatcheries where young fish are raised. These after reaching a certain age and size are put into our rivers and lakes. Buffaloes, deer, seals, and various birds have also places reserved where they may live unmolested by man. Bird reserves have been established in the South, and a treaty with Great Britain protects migratory birds which travel between this country and Canada. Public sentiment is particularly effective in matters like these. Education must create it, and then laws, enforced, can make it effective. It lies with us how much national beauty is going to be left for our children.

Are any harmful living creatures protected by our laws? What are the principal fish and game laws of your state? Does it pay bounties for killing anything? What animals must not be killed at all? Does your state have any animal reserves or scenic spots set aside as public property?

177. Wealth Underground. — While denuded areas can be reforested, and some other things replaced, it is not so with minerals. Coal mined is mined, and nothing we can do can put it back in the ground as it was. So the conservation of minerals consists in care in their mining.

Coal is our most important mineral product. Almost the entire supply of anthracite coal is in eastern Pennsylvania. The whole coal region of the country is about 13 per cent of the entire area. Comparatively little of the whole coal supply, about one-tenth in all, has been mined, so that if carefully used this resource will be available for a long time. If, however, the wastefulness and carelessness that have been shown continue, the supply, it is estimated, will be exhausted in a century. It is said that for many years from half a ton to one and a half tons were wasted for every ton mined. Coal was taken only

from the broad veins, and a great deal left that was only a little harder to obtain. Thousands of tons of "slack" are thrown away every year. This amount could be greatly decreased by more careful methods of mining. For that reason the national government has organized a Bureau of Mines to study safe and economical methods of mining. It also does much to educate the public in wise use of fuels.



Courtesy Westinghouse Electric Co.

A HEAVILY LOADED TRAIN OF COAL CARS.

Electric engines on the Norfolk and Western Railroad draw these heavy trains up steep grades without difficulty.

Some states also have a department of mines for similar objects.

A great deal of coal is wasted in use. Tons and tons of coal go up the chimney yearly in smoke, or are consumed in ovens where imperfect combustion takes place. All these things can be remedied. Already the use of smoke consumers is required in many mills and factories and on railroads. The smoke also contains by-products of value.

Another problem of coal is the ownership of coal lands. Thousands of acres of such land have yielded profit to individuals when it should have gone to the entire public.

People interested in conservation urge that there be no more sale of public coal land, but that the lease system be used, under which private individuals lease a certain area of land, and a royalty is paid to the government on every ton of coal mined. The government can insist on proper methods of mining, and control the price of the coal. Particularly in Alaska, where there are said to be enormous coal fields, some such plan seems far better than either giving away the coal lands or forbidding their development at all.

Petroleum is found in different parts of the country, but California has more than all the other states combined. Texas and Oklahoma also produce large quantities. This mineral is being wasted even more than the coal. It is used principally for power, and part of it is exported. The supply as it is known at present cannot last for many years at the present rate of use, but of course new fields may be discovered. Natural gas has also been shamefully wasted. It has been allowed to escape from the wells, and when gas has been found in digging for oil, it has been lighted and allowed to burn. Gas escapes from imperfect pipes. All together about one billion cubic feet of gas are wasted every day. The supply of natural gas is rapidly diminishing, and unless something is done this wonderfully convenient fuel will soon be exhausted.

In what states are the various forms of natural resources found in greatest abundance? How much is produced each year at present?

178. Occupying the Land. — A large part of American history is really the story of the pioneer and his movement to the West. What took him from his home and associations into a new country, to live a life of crudeness and often of loneliness for perhaps years? Sometimes the social distinctions and lack of democracy characterizing the "old families"; sometimes the chance to get a new start, when things had gone wrong, financially or otherwise; some-

times the tales of gold, boundless forests, or fabulously fertile land in the river bottoms, which seemed to offer rich opportunities; sometimes just an irresistible urge for adventure and the thrill of conquering the unknown—all these took the bold and hardy into the new lands. The westerner has always been noted for independence, thinking for himself, willingness to try new things.

From almost the beginning of our national existence our government encouraged western occupation by its generous policy to settlers. It gave much to Revolutionary soldiers. It passed much over to the states for the support of education or for constructing canals and railroads. It presented enormous amounts to corporations which planned transcontinental railroads.

It sold much of the land for \$1.25 an acre to almost anybody who would buy it. The act of 1841 allowed any family living on the land for six months to get 160 acres

at that price. The Homestead Act of 1862 allowed any head of a family to obtain 160 acres for a merely nominal fee, simply by living on the land for five years. Later this time was reduced to three years. Special provisions have been enacted with reference to land depending upon irrigation projects.

There was, however, a great deal of abuse of the privilege extended by the Homestead laws. They were meant to encourage bona fide home-builders. But many people,

6	5	4	3	2	1
7	8	9	10	11	12
18	17	16	15	14	13
19	20	21	160 Acres St	23	24
30	29	28	27	26	25
31	32	33	34	35	36

A CONGRESSIONAL TOWNSHIP.

This diagram shows the order in which the sections of the townships are numbered. Two sections are set apart for the support of schools. One section is shown subdivided.

working in the interest of a corporation, would build a sod house on a claim, pretend to live there for the required time, and sell out to the corporation at a profit. Tracts of valuable timber land were taken as agricultural land. It is the old story of reckless greed. Sometimes oil or other minerals were found and became a rich source of profit. As a result of this abuse, special regulations have been made



Courtesy Reclamation Service.

THE DESERT BEFORE IT GETS WATER.

In the center of the picture is a strip of irrigated land. What a contrast it forms with the barrenness on either side! On page 149 notice the small ditches used in irrigating a ranch.

so that the different kinds of land shall be taken for what they really are.

Most of this western land has been surveyed as provided in the Act of 1785, which arranged for townships six miles square, each divided into square "lots," later called "sections," containing one square mile each. A quarter-section was therefore the most common size of land taken under the Homestead laws. The surveying and disposal of

public lands is under the General Land Office in the Department of the Interior.

Name some famous early pioneers. Why did not the federal government give away land in the original thirteen states? Look up the location of public land still available (World Almanac). On what terms may it now be obtained? Would you care for any of it? Is it true that the West has put "pep" into American life? Is the westerner of today crude?

179. Methods of Cultivation. — Agriculture has always been our leading occupation, but like others it has changed with the march of progress. Scientific methods and the use of machinery have found a big place in it, and have made up in part for the steady drain of boys and girls from the farm into the city. There are two types of soil cultivation.

Intensive cultivation is the use of a great deal of labor and capital on a small amount of land. We find this kind of farming for the most part in the eastern part of the United States, especially in New England and the Middle Atlantic States, near the large cities, where there is not a great amount of room. "Truck gardens" are also numerous in the South Atlantic States. Of all the people in the world, the Japanese are said to be the most proficient at this enterprise. On the small farms crops are planted close together and fertilizer is used to good advantage. When one vegetable's season is over, another is ready in the next row. Rotation of crops is necessary so that the chemical elements in the soil may not be exhausted by continual planting of the same vegetable in the same spot.

Extensive farming is a form of agriculture which calls for the cultivation of large areas of land, usually for one crop, such as wheat or corn. It is characteristic of much of the West, where single farms may contain up to even 10,000 acres. Most of the work, from breaking the soil to threshing the grain, is done by machinery. Large tractors even take the place of horses.

180. Making the Desert Grow. — The desert soil is rich from long idleness and requires only the water to make it yield bountifully. Twenty inches of rainfall annually is necessary to cultivate land successfully. Since two-fifths of the area of our country has less than that, most of this land, to be useful, must be irrigated. We were very late in our realization of this fact. The Mormons were the first to use irrigation on a large scale, after moving to Utah about the middle of the 19th century. No national acts of importance in regard to irrigation were passed until 1894. The Cary Act of that year granted certain desert regions to the states on condition that they should irrigate them. The Reclamation Act of 1902 provided for the use of money obtained from the sale of public lands to build irrigation works. It also organized the Reclamation Service, in the Department of the Interior, which investigates conditions and constructs and operates irrigation projects. The Reclamation Extension Act of 1914 provides that the settlers shall pay the cost of irrigation in the form of a very light rent.

There are about thirty irrigation projects serving 3,200,000 acres of formerly arid or semi-arid lands. The Service has built over 12,000 miles of canals, ditches, and drains. The water for irrigation is obtained from the streams and lakes in the regions where the work is being done. In order to store the water until it is needed for crops, over a hundred dams have been built. To fulfill the vision of the old prophet, "The desert shall grow and blossom as the rose," is a wonderful thing. When water is valuable and the supply limited, difficult questions of economy and good distribution arise, and these are the principal problems connected with irrigation today.

We must not get the idea that all irrigation projects are public ones. A large number of them are private enterprises, and many are much older than any government projects. The beautiful cities and towns of southern Califor-



Courtesy Reclamation Service.

IRRIGATION PROJECTS IN OUR WESTERN STATES.

Only the projects in which the national government is directly interested are shown on this map. The Arrowrock dam is pictured on page 421. There are many smaller irrigation projects privately constructed and managed.

nia could not exist without them, and the Imperial Valley project, which takes water from the Colorado River into a district below sea level, is one of the most ambitious of all.

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Read the story of the Imperial Valley in "The Winning of Barbara Worth." What kind of climate does the southwestern part of our country have? Would you like to live there?

Another phase of making the desert grow is the practice of dry farming. This is a comparatively new form of agriculture, suitable for crops not needing great quantities of water. Plowing is deep and the top soil is kept as finely broken as possible to prevent the evaporation of the water in the ground. In some sections good crops are raised by this method.

By way of contrast, we may mention the reclamation of swamp lands. Thousands of acres of land have been made useful and healthful by draining off the water. It is estimated that about 77,000,000 acres of swamp land in the country are recoverable. These lands are unusually fertile and make fine farms. Many districts around the lower Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico have been thus made useful, as well as considerable land in Florida. Quite a change from harmful disease-breeding swamps to productive meadows!

181. Protecting the Farmer's Welfare.—To promote the general prosperity of the nation, the farmer must receive consideration as well as the city man. Almost half the population of the United States still live in rural districts, and the city man cannot live without the things the farmer grows. Farm problems therefore mean something to everybody. We have already referred to the program for making the rural school and church more effective, and for making rural roads respectable. Let us glance at some of the rural problems that are primarily economic.

Farmers do not want the same amount of labor the year around. In planting time and harvesting time they need much, in the winter little. They cannot pay wages high enough during the rush seasons to justify a worker in remaining idle when the farmer has no use for him. During

the busy season on a farm, long hours are absolutely necessary and the work seems hard to one who is not used to it. Since the wages usually include meals they do not sound as large to a city worker as they may be in reality, and he would rather loaf in the city than work in the country. The city worker, too, thinks that farm life is dead, that there is nothing to do but work and go to bed. Many of



Courtesy International Harvester Co.

DOING FARM WORK BY MACHINERY.

The gasoline engine and other forms of machinery make farm labor much easier and do it better than when it all had to be done by man-power.

the 5,000,000 farm laborers in the country are of the unsteady, migratory type and often undesirable.

If crops are raised and then, because labor cannot be obtained, the grain or fruit rots in the field, there is an enormous and real money loss to the entire country. This is one of the reasons why the cost of food products is higher than it really needs to be. Some means must be found by which the farmer will be able to get the number of workers

he needs. During the War patriotism was sufficient in some cases to take boys into the country for the summer, and even men, women, and girls gave spare time to work on farms. But that kind of patriotism is usually not sufficient to cause one to keep at such work in times of peace. An increase of the standard of wages on the farm probably must come if we are to get enough workers to keep things going. Advertising the attractive features of farm life instead of the constant allusions to "rubes" and "hay-seeds" that we find in the "funny pages" and hear from the stage would be of some assistance. The governments of state and nation can render no more important service through their employment bureaus than to bring the worker to the farm.

Why do you or do you not like farm work? Should city people be willing to pay high prices for milk and other farm products to enable farmers to pay good wages?

Another disturbing feature is the tendency toward an increase in the number of rented farms. As an occupation today farming requires more capital than some people are willing to spend, so that people rent rather than buy farms. During hard times farms are usually the first property mortgaged. The small profits are insufficient to pay it off, the farm is lost and often the same man rents it from the one who holds the mortgage. Of the 6,448,343 farms in the country in 1920 about 38 per cent were rented, and 37 per cent of the rest were known to be mortgaged.

But why is this a problem? As a general rule a renting farmer works the soil much less carefully. He wants present profit and does whatever will bring the greatest immediate return. He makes few improvements, and does not try to conserve the fertility of the soil. By the time his lease is up the soil is so poor and the buildings so in need of repair, that a small fortune is needed to make it pay again.

It is often said that because of their isolated life, and the

nature of their occupation, farmers are very independent. It is, indeed, in some respects true. On a small farm the family can do most of the work; they can raise their own food, and regulate their own life. But for his profits the farmer is almost at the mercy of the railroads and middle men, unless he lives close to a city. Even then, at the first



Courtesy Reclamation Service.

A GRAIN FARM ON IRRIGATED LAND.

Once this land looked like that on page 364.

sign of hard times in the city, the consumption of food decreases. Moreover, the farmer is dependent upon Nature, a force that cannot be controlled by man. To protect him as much as possible, the national government makes use of the Weather Bureau, now in the Department of Agriculture. It sends out warnings of coming droughts, storms, and frosts. It tells the farmer, and many other interested people, just what to expect a few days in advance. Then whatever preparation is possible can be made. Many people think that almost anybody can farm. They look

upon it somewhat as the last resort of a man who has not brains enough to succeed at anything else. But this is a wild mistake.

Successful farming is a science. Colleges and universities maintain regular courses in agriculture. They also offer short courses which many farmers take during the winter months. Agricultural experiment stations do very helpful work. Reports and bulletins from agricultural colleges and the Department of Agriculture are often extremely valuable.

The modern farm is a business enterprise. The farmer finds out the quality of his land and the crops which will bring him the greatest returns. He keeps in touch with the markets and their prices. He demands reasonable profits. He plans budgets and keeps accounts. The farmer is no mossback. He is very much alive and very progressive. He wants no sympathy, but he wants a square deal. The rest of us cannot afford not to give it to him.

What does the average city man think of the farmer? What does the farmer think of the city man? Enumerate the pleasant and the unpleasant things in farm life. What particular problems does the farmer's wife contend with? Why were most farmers opposed to daylight saving?

∴ Since our wonderful natural resources have been used wastefully, conservation is an immediate and vital necessity with our forests, our water, our metals and minerals, our native animals, and our land. The farmer and others who work with these natural resources are doing a service so fundamental that their welfare must not be ignored.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Forest Service, State and National.

White Coal.

Lumber — Its Importance and Its Problems.

Coal — Its Importance and Its Problems.

Wheat — Its Importance and Its Problems.

Iron — Its Importance and Its Problems.

Federal Land Legislation.

Managing a Big Western Farm.
The History of Irrigation.
The History of the Conservation Movement.
The Farm Labor Problem.
Management as a Farm Problem.

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Carver — Principles of Rural Economics, Chapters 3-6.
Carney — Country Life and the Country School, Chapters 4, 5, 8.
Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapters 8-10, 12.
Young — New American Government, Chapter 14.
Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 33.
Beard — American Government and Politics, Chapter 20.
Hart — Actual Government, Chapter 18.
Haskin — American Government, Chapters 7, 9-11.
Haworth — America in Ferment, Chapter 3.
Lessons in Community and National Life, B-5, C-4, C-5, C-6.

XVI. CONTROLLING THE COST OF LIVING

Now that we have worked out a number of principles that apply to the production of commodities, we can profitably turn our attention to another phase of the elements of prosperity, wise consumption. Why do we have to pay so much money to get the things to meet our desires? How much is it reasonable for us to expect? How may we get the most satisfaction out of the use of the income which our labor brings us?

A. Using Our Income Wisely

182. What Makes Things Cost?—Leaving out for the present the variations of market price, what are we paying for when we buy anything? Only a very small part of what we pay for an article goes to the actual producer of the original material. To understand what becomes of the rest of it demands some knowledge of a tremendous number of business activities. It goes for transportation, for transforming the article into a form in which it will suit us best, and for profits of management as well as compensation for the necessary use of capital and labor.

Make a list of all the elements that enter into the cost of a steak; a quart of milk; this book; a railroad ticket.

After we trace things down we may wonder not so much at the amount we pay as that the commodity can be sold at the price. Yet we cannot help feeling, when we know that we pay so much more for certain articles now than at some other time, that we are not getting all we are entitled to, after all. Now what are some of these cost items that we are tempted to consider "artificial"? Why may there be a general rise in the standard of prices?

One cause is inflation of the currency. Gold is more abundant than it used to be. It therefore takes more of

it than it formerly did to obtain a certain amount of wheat or hats. Thus the fact that prices are measured in gold would itself cause prices to rise. Suppose, too, that for some reason an unusually large amount of paper money was also put into circulation. The effect would be similar. It would then take still more money to obtain the same amount of goods as before. As the amount of natural resources available for production becomes less and less, another cause for an increase in the price of commodities is suggested. If people's wants increase, their greater demand for a variety of articles is going to lift the price further.

Sometimes we are bothered with the so-called "profiteer." If an unscrupulous grocer knows that the woman who hurries in for flour or sugar must have it at once, he may be tempted to charge her an excessive price. During the Great War there was a limited supply of many things which war needs called for immediately, and there could be little haggling with people who could supply what was wanted, even though they demanded an outrageous price for it. People have to have shelter. Since they prefer not to live in tents, they may have to pay, if houses are scarce, as much for three rooms and bath as once would have rented a mansion.

When harmful living conditions exist as the result of high prices, three possible remedies may be available. We may produce more of the things we need, and thus cause the price to come down; we may try to obtain more wages to meet the high prices; or we may adjust our standard of living to agree with our wages. Wages seldom increase as fast as prices; but when the attempt is made to meet rising prices with constantly rising wages, an effect is produced that is sometimes called "the vicious circle." For a crude illustration, suppose the carpenters, observing an increased cost of living, demand and obtain higher wages. The cost of building then goes up and house rents are raised. Then the grocer and the clothing dealer and the shoe dealer must

charge more for their goods to pay the high rent. The carpenters then say, "Living has gone up. We must have another raise." Surely the thing must stop somewhere. The people who are pinched first when the inflation is squeezed out never enjoy it, but a reasonable standard of costs all around ought to suit everybody. The method we have described is altogether too much like a dog's chasing his own tail.

When deflation takes place, in what order are the elements of cost likely to come down?

183. Living Expenses Once and Now. — Few people are willing to live today as people in a similar social standing would have expected to live a hundred or even fifty years ago. Country people never have spent relatively as much as city people, but the living expenses of both groups have increased.

Here is a list of quotations from the day-book of a grocer in western Pennsylvania in 1808 and 1809: "2 lb. coffee, \$.80; 2 lb. rice, \$.25; 2 qts. salt, \$.25; 173 lb. bacon, \$1.62; 1 gal. whiskey, \$.50; 1 pr. stockings, \$1.00; 3 lb. butter, \$.27; 1 doz. cigars, \$.06; 110 lb. beef, \$3.96; 1 pr. shoes, \$1.25; 5 bu. wheat, \$2.50; 1 ream paper, \$3.92; 1 doz. eggs, \$.06; 1 fur bonnet, \$3.50; 3 yds. velvet, \$4.50; 1 doz. plates, \$.53; 1 yd. homespun, \$1.59; Webster's spelling book, \$.25; 2 lb. sugar, \$.50."

Compare these with prices prevailing today for the same commodities and see if you can explain the differences. Why are some prices so much more nearly like those of today than others?

A hundred years ago a family with an income of \$1500 a year was considered "well fixed," and thousands of workers never expected to get more than a dollar a day for their labor. How did they get along? In the first place many families produced all or part of their own food and did much of their own manufacturing. Much of what they needed from outside sources was obtained by barter or exchange rather than purchase. Their standard of living was lower — less was used and less was wasted. Then there were fewer amusements and luxuries on which to spend their income and more of it could be used for necessities.

In 1920 the following was presented by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research as a fair list of reasonable expenses for that year for a family of five, including the parents, a boy of 13, a girl of 10, and a boy of 6: rent, \$336.00; fuel and light, \$98.10; food, \$681.82; clothing, \$439.37; car fare, \$35.40; cleaning, supplies, services, \$44.24; unspecified items (recreation, insurance, health, house furnishings, education, reading, taxes, etc.), \$345.08. Total, \$1,980.01.

Subdivide these items and see whether they impress you as possible or reasonable. What do you suppose a similar Philadelphia family would have spent in 1820?

Why are living expenses in the country less than in the city? How does the small town compare with either? Would expenses be the same in all cities?

184. *Standards of Living.* — What constitutes any one's standard of living? From the viewpoint of a *desirable* standard, it is the estimate which a person makes as to the amount of comforts and necessities which he must have in order to be satisfied. From the *practical* viewpoint it means the amount of material goods which a person actually has for the gratification of his wants. One's actual standard of living may be far below his ideal standard. A uniform standard is out of the question. Just as individuals differ, so their idea of what life should be varies. A fisherman's life may be joy to one person but to another little short of disgusting.

Is it possible to maintain equal standards of living for all? Suppose such a condition were brought about; how long would it last? Are equal standards for everybody desirable? Would a new deal make it possible for some to retain permanently a higher standard than they could hope to achieve without it?

Standards have been raised very greatly since the world began. Primitive man wished for only rough food and shelter. Consider by contrast the great assortment of desires we have today. It has been a case of "the more you get, the more you want"; luxuries have become necessities; and our progress is evidence of this rising standard. Standards of living are higher in America than in most other countries. Even our unskilled laborers are seldom content

with what people of the same kind in other countries have. The sounder a country is, morally and materially, the more generally will life be maintained on a plane of comfort and enjoyment. To secure a relatively high standard for as many people as possible is much to be desired, and that is, after all, the best we can hope to accomplish.

Are the standards of living of all wealthy people the same? May a street-cleaner be happy? How will the community get such work done if nobody in the community is satisfied to live below decent comfort? To what extent do the items mentioned at the end of Section 11 permit you to judge a family's or community's standard of living?

Do you agree with the standard of living set up as reasonable by the Court of Industrial Arbitration of New South Wales, Australia, in 1914: "The living wage is standardized as the wage which will do neither more nor less than enable the worker of the class to which the lowest wage would be awarded to maintain himself, his wife, and two children — the average dependent family — in a house of three rooms and a kitchen, with food, plain and inexpensive, but quite sufficient in quantity and quality to maintain health and efficiency, and with an allowance for the following other expenses: fuel, clothes, boots, furniture, utensils, rates, life insurance, savings, accident or benefit societies, loss of employment, union pay, books and newspapers, train and tram fares, sewing-machine, mangle, school requisites, amusement and holiday, intoxicating liquors, tobacco, sickness and death, domestic help, unusual contingencies, religion, or charity."

Does this list omit or include anything which in your opinion it should not?

A well-known financier of New York has proposed this list of necessities: "(1) Food that is healthful and nourishing. (2) Shelter that is hygienic. (3) Clothing that will protect us. (4) Fuel that will keep us warm. (5) Education that will make us efficient and philosophical, and thereby happy. (6) Medical attention that will preserve our vigor while we live. (7) Transportation. (8) Amusements that are rational but not demoralizing. (9) Tobacco, at least in my case."

Does this sound reasonable as a general ideal?

Suppose it is suggested that as we are not satisfied with our standard of living we should increase our income. By what means might this be done? Upon what factors do the incomes of the

following depend : clerks, hod-carriers, carpenters, stenographers, teachers, merchants, ministers, bankers, waiters, engineers?

185. Regulating Our Own Expenses.— With many a person the immediate problem is not, "What standard of living ought I to maintain?" but, "What standard can I maintain?" In other words, "How can we make both ends meet?" One answer might be, "Spend less." Another might be, "Know how you spend it." Long ago, efficiency became the watchword of the office and factory, but in home life careless, slipshod habits have continued. Yet the home is the most important factor of community life, and home training reaches far out into every other phase of living.

One of the best means for obtaining efficiency in the home is the family budget. No government or business that pretended to be up to date or efficient would attempt to get along without a budget system. By a *budget* we mean a careful estimate of the probable expenditures during a given time, worked out so that plans may be laid to meet them. By planning the spending of our income as far in advance as possible we avoid having a great deal just after pay day and then living on bare necessities for the next few weeks. The housewife knows the definite amount she has to spend. We see in black and white just what amount we should spend for various things before, not after, it is spent. We get things in the right proportion; if we have spent too much on one item, we may plan a wiser arrangement.

How many families that you know of use the budget plan? Why or why not?

Budget items are often arranged in five groups — food, shelter, clothing, household expenses, and development, or, as it is sometimes called, "higher life." This last includes education, recreation, church, charity, and the like. The amounts spent for each of these groups are naturally not equal. Some groups vary more proportionately than

others under different conditions of living. The outlay for shelter usually runs between 15 and 25 per cent. The family with a small income may spend as high as 45 or 50 per cent for food. The rich man spends much less in proportion for that item, for unless he insists on having a great variety of food and many things out of season, he cannot eat in proportion to his wealth.

It often seems that the so-called middle class spends the greatest percentage for clothes. Sensible poor people know they cannot spend lavishly for dress, and do not try to, but the family with a moderate income wishes to look as well dressed as the rich. Occupations vary greatly in the importance attached to dress.

The greatest variation appears in the item headed "development" or "higher life." The poor man must use most of his income for necessities. The rich man has his automobiles, costly entertainments, travel, and long vacations. He may also contribute generously toward church and charity. When reverses come to rich, middle class, or poor, this section of the budget is the one that is cut first.

Can you tell the income or expenditures of your family last year? Do you imagine that there could be any improvement in the financial management of your home? Make out a budget showing the amount needed to supply the mythical "average" family of five with reasonable and healthful food for a month. Do the same for clothing, and for the other expenses which a well disposed family tries to provide for. Does your budget come within the reach of the ordinary family's income in your neighborhood? If it does not, where will it have to be cut down? — Remember that, taking the country as a whole, \$2,000 is as large an income as the average family can hope for. Are parents ever to blame for the extravagance of children? Should children be fully acquainted with the family's financial condition?

186. Spending That Is Wise. — Most of us need to have it drummed into us that we ought to save. But *some* spending is more beneficial than *some* saving. There can be false economy.

One of the things for which we should spend money is health. To obtain good food and proper clothing and shelter is not only wise but profitable in the long run. Ill health brings loss of work and doctor's bills. A certain amount of recreation and pleasure is beneficial to health and very desirable from a social point of view. Education is another wise use of money. It, too, richly repays its purchaser in the end, mentally and financially.

What advice might a poor boy working his way through college or a young man just starting for himself in business need with reference to food, clothing, and social affairs? Would either one be in danger of spending too little on these items?

A man who wishes to save money has a son to whom college would be of great benefit. By close management he could send him. Ought he to do so?

When might the purchase of a full dress suit be wise and when unwise? of an encyclopedia? of a tennis racket? of a dog? of a hat?

But does wisdom justify spending for luxury? First, what is a *luxury*? It is a comfort or convenience beyond the actual necessities of life, which contributes only to ease or enjoyment. Some argue that a person has a right to all he can get from life. Luxuries they say are an incentive to better work. They bring contentment, and make it easier to bear the hard things of life.

We are sometimes told that the production of luxuries furnishes employment for people. Yet such employment takes workers away from the production of necessary commodities and raises the cost of the latter. When expenditures for luxuries become mere extravagances, we cannot defend them morally or socially. But when they are, in a sense, spurs to service and the reward for hard work, we can sometimes give their possessor the benefit of the doubt.

Under what circumstances and for whom would the following be classified as a necessity, a convenience, or a luxury: a fountain pen, a baseball, a lawn mower, a country estate, a jack-knife, a diamond ring, a dozen pairs of silk stockings, a caddy at golf, a telephone, a trip to Florida?

187. Foolish Uses of Money. — The cost of high living, it has been well said, is one of the chief reasons for the high cost of living. Who can tell how many people mortgaged their homes even to buy a Ford! If it comes to a choice between a home and a "machine," the latter almost invariably wins. People will scrimp on necessities to "keep up with the Joneses," to entertain, or to display showy



WHAT SOME PEOPLE THROW AWAY.

An extensive business is done in the handling of old newspapers, magazines, and other waste paper which the ordinary person throws away.

clothes. Not a commodity exists that has not been bought by some people under conditions that did not warrant the purchase. Whatever price they paid was too much.

Is there any harm in bargain sales?

We go to amusements day after day that leave us no better physically, mentally, or morally. We spend millions upon millions for liquor, tobacco, chewing gum, soda, and ice cream, that we absolutely do not need. Would you believe that more money is spent for candy than for edu-

cation, and more for chewing gum than for charity every year! Americans are notorious for extravagance. We use more silk and much more meat than any other country.

The uneven distribution of wealth and the wanton luxury of some rich families create or promote that class feeling which underlies much of the industrial and social discontent that exists today. They may produce among the members of the rich man's family a habit of idleness and a spirit of selfishness which is wholly contrary to good citizenship. Senseless extravagance sets a bad example. It leads to envy, extravagance, and crime. People see the rich enjoying themselves by spending money freely for unnecessary things, and they try to get them — they do not care how.

What have you spent in the last thirty days that you did not positively need to spend? How many such expenses do you think were justified?

Foolish investments, as well as foolish expenses, have often brought disaster. Probably most of us some time or other are bitten by the "get-rich-quick" germ. Some one tells us he has a little inside information that P & Q stock is going up. We let him take what we have and use it to buy several shares on a "margin." Perhaps the stock does go up a few points and then before we can dispose of ours, it suddenly drops lower than before and our investment is gone.

Some one else sends us through the mail or perhaps we read in the advertising pages of the Sunday newspaper, a glowing description of the Moses County oil well which is going to yield several thousand barrels next month. It may be that the Golden West Copper Company is going to open up a new vein which as yet nobody has seen. Perhaps, it is some land in the Florida Everglades which will some day produce thousands of oranges. Thousands upon thousands of dollars are taken from guileless profit-seekers through such means. Do you ask why such rascally "promoters" are not more often exposed? People who put

their money into this kind of investment and lose it do not care to have any one else know about it. They will stand the loss rather than let the world know they were "suckers."

Always look with suspicion upon any opportunity for wealth which is glaringly and loudly advertised. Always investigate carefully into any proposition which promises to pay eight, ten, twelve per cent or more dividends. You can be assured that people who really have money to invest, and much of it, are looking for opportunities to put it where it is safe and at the same time bringing in large returns. It will be unnecessary for people who have a really good investment to beg for people to come and put their money into it.

What should you want to know about the following stocks or bonds before investing: the issues of a banking company in your own town? of a Mexican mining company or Texas oil stock? of bonds to put up a Masonic temple in Yuma? of street railway stock in Reno?

188. Wise Saving and Investment. — Why should any one save? Why not spend as we go and enjoy what we have while it is in our hands? Out of 100 people at the age of twenty-five, 80 will be alive at the age of fifty-five. Of that group 4 will have gained such success as to be independent and have means to spare, 46 will be making a bare living, and 30 will be dependent on charity or relatives! The only way to establish prosperity among people in general, and to give the world any advantage tomorrow which it does not possess today, is to save for tomorrow's needs something of what we have produced today. Society, as well as the individual, benefits from the right kind of saving.

Is the miser or the spendthrift more harmful to society? Is the fellow who spends every cent he gets happier than the one who saves some of his income?

Yet there is no great merit in simply hoarding money or property that we have obtained, and allowing it to do no

good to any one. It should be put to work for us. There are two kinds of invested savings: those which one can readily get hold of when he wishes, and those which are invested in a somewhat more permanent form. Usually it is well to have some of our savings in each of these forms. One can never tell when he may have some special reason for wishing a few hundred dollars on short notice. On the



Courtesy Duquesne Light Co.

AN INTERIOR VIEW IN A GREAT POWER PLANT.

Furnishing light and power in our large cities now calls for investments mounting well up into millions of dollars.

other hand, if all his money is invested in places where he can get it any time he pleases, he may be tempted to take unnecessary risks with it or to spend it when he would better hold on to it.

Among the first class of savings, we may mention deposits in savings banks and similar institutions, purchases

of war savings stamps, investments in government bonds, and the like. Most savings of such forms as these can be turned into money under ordinary circumstances on not more than a few days' notice. As one bank expresses it. "Get the bank habit. No saner, healthier habit can possess you. It means more friends and peace of mind."

If a person succeeds in laying by more than a moderate sum, however, he will do well to put some of it elsewhere than in the savings bank. The interest rate on such deposits is not as great as some other investments which are in themselves safe within all reasonable assurance. Stocks and bonds of industrial concerns of a recognized and substantial character are often entirely acceptable as an investment. One must judge for himself, of course, as to the soundness of the issuing concern, but many such issues are, as far as human foresight can make them, entirely safe.

Insurance is a valuable form of savings for one who has others depending upon him. But since the insurance company must pay its running expenses and take risks of its policy-holders dying or being injured before the policy expires, it cannot afford to make its policies particularly attractive as investments. Investments in houses and other kinds of buildings are more permanent in their character. First mortgages on real estate are often recommended as bringing in at least average returns and being as safe as anything can easily be. The chief objection to them is that they are not always easy to turn into money, for the person from whom the mortgage is taken may not always be able to meet a demand for payment, and the legal process required in selling the property in order to obtain the amount due on the mortgage is sometimes long and complicated. Many people, especially those who feel that they are not likely to move from their present surroundings, ought to invest some of their early savings in owning their own home.

Has your local government issued bonds? What rate of interest was paid on them? Were they taken by your own citizens?

How large a proportion of your class and your communities own their own homes? Is this good advice for investors: "Better be safe than be sorry"?

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Forms of Life Insurance and Their Merits.

Resolved, that owning a home should be a settled aim upon the part of every family.

Resolved, that no man should bequeath to his family more than a living income.

The Advertisements and the Suckers.

Family Accounts and How to Keep Them.

Charge Accounts from the Viewpoint of the Merchant and of the Family.

A Specific Study of a Family Budget.

Mortgages, from Both Sides.

Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps.

American Extravagance.

The Bond House and Its Services.

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B. Economy through Coöperation

Much of the cost of an article goes to pay middlemen whose service in production consists almost solely in handling or storing goods. Would the cost of living be reduced if some of these middlemen could be eliminated? Big business enterprises buy goods in large quantities at a saving. Cannot producers or consumers, or both, combine to deal directly with buyers or sellers in the same way? To what extent has this idea been carried, and how well has it succeeded?

189. Coöperative Movements in General. — The movement for coöperation is generally looked upon as beginning

in 1844 when the Equitable Pioneers Coöperative Society was formed by weavers in Rochdale, England. Today coöperative societies of various kinds are very common all over Europe. It is estimated that about one-third of the population of that continent is connected with forms of coöperative business. For various reasons, among them a greater aptitude for saving, the people of Europe have taken more kindly to the idea than those of the United States. Coöperative movements succeed only under certain conditions. The community sense must be well developed among all the members of a coöperative society. This is often difficult to secure in our country because the American people are so distinctly individual. They want to take responsibility as individuals, and to do things as they individually please. People often will get together in the stress of an emergency, but separate as soon as the emergency is over.

Another difficulty is that of getting efficient management. Coöperative enterprises require the management of experts in the trade, and cannot succeed with amateurs. The most generally favored idea with regard to management is to have the manager a shareholder in the society, and not a hired worker. This makes him take greater interest in it, and gives him a vote so that he can use his knowledge and experience to help determine policies and courses of action.

Another condition favorable to success is the working together of different coöperative societies. Unless such societies are sufficiently organized, they are completely at the mercy of wholesale dealers. The latter deal mostly with privately owned concerns, which can bring sufficient pressure to bear on the wholesaler so that he will charge higher prices to the coöperative concerns or refuse to deal with them. It is to avoid these difficulties that in Great Britain and on the continent the coöperative movement includes both wholesale and retail production and sale.

Is the emphasis of Americans on individual enterprise to our credit or discredit? The middleman would never have come into being if he had not at least seemed to render service to somebody. To whom and how may such service be or have been rendered?

190. Producers' Coöperation in the United States.—Strangely enough, producers' coöperation in this country today is most common among the scattered farmers. They often organize to buy machinery. A whole community will pool their funds to buy a tractor or some other machine, for the use of every one who has a share in it. But the more common type of coöperation is that which is formed for the purpose of marketing goods to better advantage. The small producer has always had much trouble in getting his goods to the distant market. He does not know or meet the retail dealer upon whom he must depend for selling his goods to the people. He is obliged to depend upon "commission men," who may or may not give him what his crop is worth. At one time, it was discovered that Michigan farmers were getting three or four cents a quart for strawberries when the same berries were selling in the cities at forty or fifty cents.

An excellent example of this form of coöperation is the California Fruit Growers' Association. It has a membership of between 6,000 and 7,000 orange and lemon growers, with an aggregate capital of \$27,000,000. The association pools the products of all the members and packs them uniformly. The shipping is done in cars owned by the organization. This reduces the actual cost of transportation and does away with a considerable outlay that would otherwise be necessary. The goods are shipped to distributing points, after which they are out of the association's hands.

One dollar spent for "Sunkist" oranges in 1915 was distributed about as follows: to the retailer, 24.9 cents; for freight, 17.6 cents; to the jobber, 8.14 cents; for harvesting, 1.1 cents; for advertising and publicity, 1.2 cents; and to the growers, 40.3 cents. By no other known means is it possible for the original producer to get for himself two-fifths of what the consumer pays.

Other producers' coöperative enterprises in this country are the apple growers of Washington and Oregon, including the Hood River Valley association, the potato growers of Maine, the melon

growers of Colorado, the cheese and butter manufacturers of Minnesota, and the milk producers of Wisconsin, of Ohio, and of other states. The Farmers' Union of Nebraska, dealing largely in grain, did a \$100,000,000 coöperative business in 1920.

The biggest venture of this character is known as the United States Grain Growers, Inc. It is a corporation whose sole business is to be a sales agency for the grain producers who are its members. They make a five-year contract to sell their grain entirely



IMPERIAL VALLEY COTTON.

Some of the finest cotton in the world is grown in Imperial Valley, but it is of little use to any one until it is carried to the factory. To what extent do you think the item of transportation enters into the final cost of cotton goods to the consumer?

through this agency. By this arrangement the farmers or the new corporation will control the distribution of the grain entirely until it reaches the mill, and as the corporation is not intended to make money, the profits that have been paid to various middlemen will be eliminated. If this undertaking succeeds, further agencies of the kind for the distribution of live stock and other agricultural products may be expected.

Would the hay growers of central New York find any difficulty in forming a coöperative organization? the fishermen of Gloucester? Wherein are coöperative organizations of producers like and unlike trusts?

Producers therefore secure many advantages through coöperation. They get many of the profits that would otherwise go to the middlemen; the market is kept from sudden changes and prices are kept stable; the cost of distribution is less; and the consumers really do pay less for the goods, though that is a matter about which the producers do not worry much. The difficulties of obtaining good management and sufficient capital, and of holding together are the chief obstacles to overcome.

191. Consumers' Coöperation in the United States.—Consumers, too, may prefer not to pay so much toll to the various middlemen as the latter are willing to receive. If a group of people combine as a consumers' coöperative society, they may buy what they want in large quantities and perhaps get rates and discounts of which not even all retail dealers can take advantage. Sometimes they may establish a store very much like the small retail stores to which we are accustomed, and hire some experienced person to do the managing.

There are a number of ways of handling the profits of the business. The goods may be sold at regular prices to all purchasers, members of the society included, and then at the end of a stated time, those who are members of the association receive a share of the profits; or members may obtain goods for lower rates at the time of purchase. If the former way is used, members sometimes get profits according to the amount of goods they have themselves bought. This makes it advantageous for them to patronize their own store. We need not expect that coöperative buying and selling would solve the whole problem of the cost of living, but it at least would help.

Why is there not more of this sort of thing? Is it that people do not want to be economical rather than wasteful? Is there a chain of financial interests that forbids them to do so? Are they hopelessly bound by custom? Or do they not know how to work with other people for mutual benefit?

What classes of people would not be likely to favor coöperative stores? Would the community lose anything by the disappearance of the privately owned "corner grocery"? of the "chain grocery"?

Could a coöperative lunch society be successfully operated here? What questions would you have to consider before deciding? Does your answer suggest anything in regard to the problem in general?

Still another means of economy through coöperation is found in the very method of saving and investment. Banks, trust companies, insurance companies, and the like, are organized to make profits for a limited number of stockholders. There is nothing morally wrong about that, but we need not expect them to render service at cost. Can such service be obtained by coöperative methods? One type of such coöperation is the building and loan association, whose primary object is to enable people to own homes — a vital need, as we have seen. A person may become a member by subscribing for stock, which he may pay for in installments. Then if he wishes to buy or build a house, the association will lend him sometimes as much as seventy-five per cent of the market value. The association then holds a mortgage on the house and can foreclose if the man does not pay. But if he continues to pay at specified intervals until his "book runs out," the mortgage is paid and he has his house. The payments are so arranged that stockholders who do not borrow on their stock secure a good return on their investment from the interest paid by borrowers.

Other organizations of this kind are coöperative banks and insurance companies. The banks often pay higher interest than the privately owned banks and many people are glad to deposit their money in them. Coöperative fire and life insurance companies are fairly numerous. They can charge less for their premiums than commercial companies do, because there is no expense for profits. The only money that is needed for salaries is for managers, claim adjusters, and people to do the clerical work.

The regular commercial banks and insurance companies assert that coöperative organizations such as we have just mentioned are unsound. Find out what their arguments are.

C. Can the Government Help Us?

It is natural for people in distress to look to their government for relief. Is this problem of the cost of living wholly one for us to work out as individuals or as families? What has it been proposed that the government should do? How much is it practically able to aid us?

192. The North Dakota Experiment.—The state of North Dakota has attempted to aid in the solution of some of the financial problems of its citizens to an extent that no other political agency has dared to go. In fact, many would call North Dakota's recent venture an experiment in state socialism. It was undertaken, however, not as a socialistic enterprise but simply as a means of practical relief.

The moving idea in the undertaking was that the farmers were handicapped in the marketing of their grain, not merely by their distance from the money centers of the country, but because of the willful obstacles put in the way of loans to farmers by large money interests. Inspired by A. C. Townley, a "Non-Partisan League" was organized to put through a big program. They succeeded in getting a large bond issue authorized, to obtain money for the establishment of state grain elevators and mills. There was to be a state bank in which the public money of the state was to be deposited and which was to make loans to farmers and to other banks. The work was begun, but the state found considerable difficulty in selling its bonds. The financial institutions of the country that usually market large bond issues would have nothing to do with them until the question of the constitutionality of the program was settled, and even then they were unwilling to aid. The bank in which the League funds were deposited also got into difficulties.

The United States Supreme Court ruled that there was nothing contrary to the United States Constitution in the proposed enterprise. "If North Dakota wants to try it," said the court in effect, "that's its own business." If this enterprise fails, it is not likely that another state government will make a similar attempt in the immediate future. Whether or not the proposition itself is sound, there is certainly something wrong in our political and financial system, if private business can dictate what a state government, representing the people of an entire state, may or may not do. Whether North Dakota's experiment in the end succeeds or fails, however, will not determine the success or failure of coöperation as a business proposition.

Do you think some other state might have attempted something of this kind with better chance of success than North Dakota? Some people assert that the government ought not to get into business under any circumstances. Is such a theory sound? Were the parcel post and postal savings bank examples of the government's going into business? Should the postal savings bank pay any lower rate of interest than private savings banks?

193. Can the Government Control Prices?—Some people seem to have the idea that the government could easily keep the cost of living down by simply declaring what the price of anything should be. Under the stress of war, when restraint may be classed as a military measure, the national government undoubtedly has the right to restrict prices. But in times of peace nothing except the control of interstate commerce would offer any constitutional warrant for price-fixing. Regulation of railway rates has been established as a definite policy, and some people would like to have the Federal Trade Commission vested with a similar right to fix maximum prices for the necessities of life.

During the Great War the prices of wheat and coal were set, more or less directly, by federal action. At the same time an indirect control over the price of other necessities was obtained under a licensing system. Individuals and

concerns doing business over a certain amount in the necessities of life were required to take out licenses, which could be revoked if the licensee was guilty of profiteering. Patriotic sentiment and the appeals of the Food and Fuel Administrations induced people to submit voluntarily to restrictions which they would in ordinary times consider intolerable nuisances.

The variation in market price of many things would make any attempt to fix prices for a long period very unwise. If prices were arbitrarily fixed too low, from the producer's viewpoint, he would not plant or manufacture or market the goods. To fix prices by law would be utterly out of the question, for we should then find Congressmen seeking office on platforms promising three-dollar wheat, if they came from a rural state, or a five-cent loaf of bread if they came from the city. To reconcile the two would be difficult or even impossible.

But surely we will not confess that our government is helpless to relieve its people's perplexities and embarrassments. It has definitely assumed supervision over the grain exchanges to prevent cornering the market or any other such manipulation of it as would cause unnecessary unsteadiness in prices. Some system of control based on the license principle might work in peace as well as in war. "Fair price" committees might also function by telling the public the reasonable range of prices in various commodities and trusting to public opinion to do the rest. But such committees, in order to be really useful, must be made up of people of honesty, intelligence, and backbone, who are both impartial and disinterested.

Assuming that a state government has the constitutional right to regulate the price of coal, would it be wise to do so? of clothing? of paper?

194. Practical Assistance. — In one way at least our government can help us economize — by making it easy

for people to organize for mutual benefit in buying or selling. The provisions of the laws respecting the chartering of corporations, for instance, may either encourage or discourage the formation of coöperative societies. Some states, notably Ohio and other middle western commonwealths, and recently Congress also, have passed laws specifically intended to aid the formation of coöperative organizations in rural communities.

Of course good roads and the parcel post system are public utilities which indirectly help the people to coöperate. The Federal Farm Loan associations put the farmer more nearly in an independent position financially. Many believe that the postal service can be developed far beyond its present usefulness in the aid of coöperative buying and selling. A school or church which becomes a community center may house a community organization for producers or consumers or both. If rural mail deliveries are extensively developed, a means may be afforded of direct communication between the farmers and the city, which will aid greatly in the marketing of farm products. Furthermore, it has been proposed that the postal savings system may be made much more useful to the masses. It is urged that it could pay 4 per cent interest on deposits instead of the sum which it now pays and could make use of the deposits in the financing of home-building. There seems to be no serious difficulty in the working out of such a proposition if the public really wants it.

The War promoted specific aid on the part of the government to producers as well as price control in the interest of consumers. The War Finance Corporation, for instance, was started with a capital of \$500,000,000, which was to be loaned to men or corporations that were doing necessary work, and in 1921 it was revived as a means of helping farmers in the period of depression. Many city and other local governments bought goods by the carload to resell at cost to people at large. Some towns will exempt a factory

from taxation for a period of years in order to induce its builders to start business within their limits.

Wise handling of the currency by the Federal Reserve Board and other public agencies will help to keep the amount of money in circulation at the right point to correspond to the needs of business. Thus an unnecessary rise in prices may be prevented and both wages and prices kept from that sort of disturbing element. But after all the government can only help people to help themselves. We must not expect any law or policy to make a man comfortable or rich if he is lazy, foolish, or ignorant.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Resolved, that the postal system should be so extended as to promote coöperative buying and selling between farmers and city consumers.

The Rochdale Pioneers.

Coöperative Societies in Europe.

The National Consumers' League.

North Dakota's Experiments.

Resolved, that "chain stores" selling for cash serve the public as well as coöperative stores could serve them.

Coöperative Producers' Associations in the United States.

Coöperative Consumers' Associations in the United States.

Resolved, that the Federal Trade Commission should be given power to fix maximum prices for those necessities of life which are carried in interstate commerce.

State Laws respecting Coöperative Societies.

Resolved, that a system of licenses for dealers in the necessities of life should be established.

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D. Caring for the Needy

To a considerable part of the people of any country, the problem of meeting the cost of living seems a hopeless one. What is the community to do with such people? How can they best be aided in trying to care for themselves or be provided for if they are wholly dependent? Can the numbers of this group of needy ones be to any degree reduced?

195. The Poor among Us. — Perhaps at least one in seven of our people does not have enough of the necessities of life to enable him to maintain the desirable standard of health and working efficiency. Those who are in such an economic state we say are in *poverty*. Still further down in the economic scale are those who not only are poor but have to be assisted by some form of charity. These we call paupers, and their condition, *pauperism*.

Now what does this class of poor people and paupers mean to us? In the first place, they can contribute nothing to the uplift of society; as workers they are inefficient; if paupers, they are a burden to the rest. Moreover, poverty means congested living conditions, and too little education. It leads to low morals, intemperance, and crime. Decent family life is impossible and helpful associations elsewhere unlikely. Society cannot, for its own sake, tolerate any of this sort of thing which is avoidable.

Two sources of relief for the poor are possible — public aid and private charity. Public aid may take two forms, called indoor and outdoor relief. *Indoor* relief is that which is given to the poor in institutions established for the purpose. *Outdoor* relief is given the poor in their own homes, by furnishing them food, clothing, fuel, or medical care, or paying their rent. If aid must be given permanently, the former method may be better; if the relief needed is temporary, outdoor relief will probably be more suitable.

For the purpose of giving aid to the poor most cities have departments of charity. They also have "poorhouses," "poor farms," or "homes," where people are kept if they

have no one who can look after them. In some states the county is responsible for the care of the poor; in others, the town or township. In some sections every town has its poor farm, and "poor relief" is administered by directors or overseers of the poor.

Recently a great improvement is observable in institutions for the poor. Formerly all ages and conditions of



POVERTY IN THE HOME.

A coal strike was the cause of this man's being out of work.

people were herded together — the poor, the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptic and the tubercular, the blind, the old people, and the orphans. But today, if different groups are kept in the same institution, they are segregated, and usually those requiring some particular attention are sent to institutions offering treatment and care for their partic-

ular misfortune. Inspection is required and reports must be made to a State Board of Charities or some similar authority. Many state governments appropriate money from the state treasury for assistance to public or semi-public charitable institutions.

Private assistance to the needy can be rendered either through organizations or by personal investigation and relief. Societies for the improvement of the poor, children's aid societies, homes for orphans or for the aged, are often largely supported by regular contributions from wealthy people. Churches and fraternal orders often maintain institutions for the particular benefit of their own members or the families of members. Some unusually kind-hearted people make regular visits to poor sections of a community, and seem to find satisfaction in rendering helpful social service of a personal and sympathetic kind.

196. **Charity, Wise and Unwise.**—Many poor families, through a pride that is not wholly discreditable, prefer individual charity, so that as few as possible may know of their misfortune. But such charity has disadvantages as well as advantages. It is not hard to play on the feelings of some well-disposed rich person, and many who are undeserving can thus get aid. Moreover, without some form of organization it is almost inevitable that some will get help from several sources, and some of the most worthy cases will be neglected. An individual cannot make as thorough an investigation as a group. Since the work of organizations, even, may similarly overlap, there has been formed in most large communities a coöperative agency called the United Charities or Associated Charities. Its agents keep a card index of worthy cases and of the help that has already been given them. Any person wishing to help can learn from them of a worthy case and find out which charity is handling it. It also carries on "follow up work." That is, it sees that a family makes good use of what they get. If they do not, no more is given them.

As it is, much charity defeats the very end it is supposed to serve. It should help the family to help itself rather than make it lazy and dependent on outside help. Tramps and beggars sometimes receive help that could do much more good for some really worthy, honest family. Giving money is frequently harmful, for it may be spent for some luxury or unimportant thing. Charitable societies therefore give most of their aid in the form of food, clothing, or some other necessary articles. A criticism sometimes offered against them is that they only relieve the need, whereas the cause of the need should be remedied. But when people are sick or starving, they may die if you do not help them until you find out how they got that way.

Even the various "homes" for the poor sometimes harm rather than help their inmates. They provide all the necessities of life except enough work. The people there become shiftless and hopeless, and lose any initiative which they ever possessed. To distribute charity wisely is a difficult proposition. An amateur social worker may do more harm than good. There ought to be more people who would be willing to help their community through social service, but they should train for such work as well as for anything else.

What do you think of the "community chest" as a means of supplying funds for charity? What sort of cases of need should be relieved by individual help, by church clubs and classes, and the like, rather than by the public or semi-public charities? If you discovered that a person who should be in your class was kept from school through poverty, what would you do about it? Would you give money to a street beggar or a tramp? a handout to a person who called at your door?

197. Preventing Poverty.—There was a time when poverty was looked upon as an inevitable evil, existing perhaps so that more fortunate people might develop and practice the grace and virtue of charity. But now we more often think of it as a kind of social disease to be prevented as far as possible by removing its causes. Before we can

expect to prevent a disease, we must know how it originates. The causes of poverty may be divided into three groups — personal, social, and physical.

Personal causes include: sickness and accident, causing inability to work; intemperance or gambling; extravagance; laziness; bodily or mental defects or unattractive personality; and general ignorance or lack of specific preparation for any occupation. Both heredity and environment contribute to these individual causes.

Social causes embrace the following: war; strikes; low wages; business depression; high prices; bad working conditions or poor housing, which cause sickness and accident; and irregular employment in seasonal trades.

The physical causes are those over which man has little or no control, such as floods, earthquakes, crop failures due to bad weather, and the like. These are not likely to affect the same people continually, but may cause very serious distress when they do come. These are among the so-called "acts of God" which at present, at least, we do not know how to prevent.

We cannot remedy all poverty by improving any one condition. We must create, recreate, or restore every element that makes for the common well-being. In general, education will relieve or remove many personal and some social causes. The discovery that the hook worm was responsible for the seeming shiftlessness of many southern poor whites, and the application of medical knowledge to this and other causes of poor living among them have already worked wonders. Teaching "safety first" and other measures for personal carefulness has been of much indirect benefit to many people. The social service worker can educate in home-making and sanitation and thus promote good health.

Legislation will make it easier for people to look out for themselves. It is preventing to some degree intemperance, child labor, poor housing, and the immigration of unde-

sirables. Minimum wage laws help women workers to obtain living wages. Some people think eugenic laws are the best preventive against the inheritance of physical or mental degeneracy, and a few states already have them. Social insurance for sickness, accident, old age, and even unemployment may also be desirable. Just tax laws, which



FEEDING POOR CHILDREN.

Growing children need even greater care than older people that they may have the right kind of food and enough of it. In some needy districts they can get this only as charitable organizations supply it.

will put the burden of public expense upon those who can afford to bear it, are another source of relief.

We need not repeat here our discussion of the causes and remedies for unemployment and low wages. Whatever relieves these misfortunes will of course relieve poverty. Not until we can raise out of the poverty class every American who is willing and able to work can we justly feel satisfied with our efforts to make America prosperous. As far as we

can do so, we must qualify every citizen to support himself and give him the opportunity to do so.

What ought to be done with tramps?

Consider specifically each cause of poverty mentioned above, and decide what remedies, if any, can be provided.

198. The Obligations of the Well-to-do. — Prevention of poverty, it has been said, is purchasable. But who will buy it? Not the poor or those who are just barely making a decent living, for they are already up to the limit of reasonable expectation. Not the middle classes, so called, for it would hardly be fair to ask them to come down to the standard of the poor in order to lift up some of the latter. It must be the rich whom the Creator intended to be responsible for most of the work of community uplift. They must be our chief contributors to charity. They are and must be our chief taxpayers.

Perhaps the rich man has a legal "right" to spend his money as he pleases, but he has also a moral duty in the matter. It is asserted that each of the "400" of New York spends about \$200,000 yearly on amusement, one hundred times the minimum desirable income for a family of five. We are not forgetting the munificence of Rockefeller, Carnegie, and others of their type. The Scotchman's wealth founded libraries in every section of our country, and the oil king's gifts have built colleges, aided churches, promoted education, and healed the sick. They have realized their ability to serve their neighbors. But should not every rich man do as well as they? It is from the masses that the rich man got his wealth. He ought to use it for everybody's good, for he cannot take it with him into the next world.

The community as a whole may save as well as the individuals who make up the community. When a town or city collects taxes from its people to put up a school building or a library, or to buy a park or a playground, it is really saving. Every generation makes use of the improvements

in methods of industry, of machinery for furthering economic processes, and of many other things which have been provided by the generations before it. This collection of wealth which results from the savings of the past, but which does not particularly belong to individuals, is called the *social surplus*.

If the rich man through beneficence or taxpaying is willing to do so, he may add greatly to his community's social surplus. He does not need to do it all, of course. When Andrew Carnegie gave away his libraries, he almost invariably required that the community which received the building should agree to spend a certain amount each year to keep it in operation and to add to its outfit. He believed the community itself must coöperate with him in providing the advantages which he was willing to help them acquire.

Many helpful results accompany the accumulation of the social surplus. People in general can maintain a higher standard of living. They can be more comfortable and obtain many conveniences which would otherwise be impossible. The strain and stress upon individuals to provide for their own needs is greatly lessened when they can take advantage of the provisions which the community as a whole can make. Unless we are laying by a social surplus, we have no right to boast of our civilization. It is only by so doing that we can make our community and our nation happy and prosperous in the years to come.

What advantages does your community offer its citizens today that were not available to your father or grandfather at your age, but which are the results of the sacrifice or saving of the people who lived at those times?

Can you suggest a way by which a man might spend \$100,000 in your immediate neighborhood so as to make it of general benefit? What personal pleasure would he get out of it? How should a wealthy man dispose of his fortune when he makes his will?

∴ Controlling the cost of living is, like most problems, both a community and an individual proposition. The government must aid people who are trying honestly to improve their

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economic condition through their own energy or through coöperation, and it must relieve those who are unable to provide for themselves. But individual and family thrift, wise spending, and investment can never be supplanted by public or private charity.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Charitable Organizations in Our Community.

Social Service in Our Community.

Hull House.

The Rich and the Poor in Our Community.

The Benefactions of Our Rich Men.

Poverty as a Cause and a Result of Intemperance.

Poverty as a Cause and a Result of Ill Health.

Tramps.

Indoor Relief in the United States (or in Our State).

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XVII. SEEKING A BETTER SOCIAL ORDER

Unless history is going to reverse itself, we have no right to expect that our present system of society and industry has attained perfection. Indeed, we ought to hope it has not! But how can it be bettered? What is wrong with the present state of affairs? To correct the wrongs, do we need to change our whole plan of organization? Let us examine the programs presented by those who think that our hope of betterment rests upon the setting up of a different order rather than upon the improvement of the present.

199. What Is the Matter with Things as They Are? — What do the harsh critics of the present order assert to be out of place? What faults do they point out? That there are faults we need not deny, whether we reach the same conclusion as the critics do or not. Our present industrial system was founded to a large extent on the principle that each individual is responsible for his own welfare and should be expected to look out for his own interests. "Caveat emptor," "let the buyer beware," — if some one gets the better of you, it is your fault. That the working out of such principles has not brought to all men and women liberty, equality, or happiness, we cannot well deny.

The aim of production in many industries, it is said, is not to provide what men need, but to make things and then induce men to buy them. Overproduction, waste of raw material and of life, the use of human energy to do things which are already being done by some one else, are common occurrences. There is much injustice in the world and grievous inequality in the opportunities and comfort of people. As a result, unhappiness, discontent, crime, immorality, and physical degeneracy are common to an indefensible extent. But a pertinent question or two arise: "Are these abuses general or only occasional? Are they

the result of the system of industry that prevails, or of the folly and wickedness of human beings? If they are the result of the system, we shall feel like turning the whole thing overboard and starting over on new lines. But many of the outstanding evils of the time are surely due to selfishness or habit.

These are *human* faults. Now, perhaps, the question will take this form: "Would an industrial system founded on lines different from those of our present system remove these faults or make it less easy for these faults to do harm?" Let us see.

Can you mention any existing abuses which show no trace of any of these human faults?

200. The I. W. W. Argument. — The center of attack of most of those who want to overthrow the present order is the control of capital by a relatively small number of private individuals. An extreme type of industrial revolutionists are those generally known in Europe as Syndicalists. Their aim is to unite all the workers into "one big union," rather than to have separate trade unions. They desire to overthrow capital and take charge of industry themselves. The Industrial Workers of the World, usually called the I. W. W., propose such a program in this country. Read this from the preamble of their Constitution:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system. We find that the centering of management into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trades unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers. It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism.

The army of production must be organized not only for the everyday struggle with capital but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown."

To attain their ends people of this type usually are willing to engage in anything that will bring them victory. "Direct action" is the phrase which they use to describe their methods. They declare that the worth of any method depends upon its effectiveness. If it will terrorize the public, overawe the employer or harm his business, they claim that anything, no matter what it is, is justified.

It is hard even to read this kind of proposition with patience. What possible success could such a crowd have if they should get control of industry! Those who justify violence to get power would use it against each other if they were in command of industry. Fortunately the American Federation of Labor and most labor leaders have forcefully condemned the idea.

201. The Socialist Idea. — The socialist believes that all fundamental industries should be carried on by the government and not by private individuals. He advocates government control of land and of all the tools of production, to be operated for the benefit of the people as a whole. He asserts that with the administration of industry in the hands of the state all the returns of labor would go to labor, and better service would be rendered to all the people than at present. There would be no profit for some individuals obtained from the work of other people. The state represents the whole people and therefore it, rather than private groups, should control those things on which the welfare of all depends. Social classes should disappear, but equality and brotherhood are out of the question as long as individuals or groups of people are able to exploit the masses.

Karl Marx, whose book, "Das Kapital," appeared in 1867, is generally credited with being the founder of modern socialism. There are in every country today groups of

people who hold socialistic principles. There have even been Socialist premiers in France. But many things for which Socialist parties in European countries are clamoring we have always enjoyed in this country or have acquired through other agencies and the enlightenment of public opinion. The Socialist party in the United States has not accomplished much politically. It nominates a candidate for the presidency every four years, though it has no hope



Courtesy International Harvester Co.

HARVESTING AND THRESHING ON A GREAT WESTERN FARM.

What do you suppose would happen to such activities if socialism were in vogue?

of winning. Socialist mayors have been elected in several cities, and Socialist congressmen from New York and Milwaukee. But no Socialist city government has attempted to make any extreme changes in administration or in any other way.

The Socialist plan is to bring socialistic principles before the public eye, and gradually to gain strength and followers. Socialists are not revolutionists. They believe in gaining

their ends by the legitimate means of political parties and elections. A number of very fine people are Socialists, but the Socialist movement has had to suffer from wild agitators and fault-finders who have attached themselves to it.

Why was the Socialist party organization opposed to the Great War? Why do extremists often harm a cause in which they are interested?

202. The Communist Theory.— We must not confuse socialism and communism. The socialist believes that the state and not the private citizen should control the tools of production. This doctrine has nothing whatever to do with other property. The communist, on the other hand, believes in the complete abolition of private property, except for articles of a strictly personal character.

The communist says that under his plan there would be no severe toil. No industry or business would be carried on for profit, and from three to four hours' work a day, if work were properly distributed, would bring to the laborer everything necessary to a comfortable living. The natural result would be greater ease and comfort than workers now enjoy. There would be no servants, no individual would have to obey another, but all would be equal. There would be absolute honesty, for every person would have as much as his neighbor, and the inducement to steal would have disappeared. The sick and the aged would receive the best of care. A wide range of enjoyment, and a spirit of independence and contentment would prevail.

In the United States today there are twenty-three "communities" where property is owned in common. Among these the Shakers have been, perhaps, the most successful. These towns were usually established by a number of people who went to a new territory and built a new settlement "from the ground up." This is the only possible way in which this could be done. If it were undertaken in a partly or fully grown town, a great deal of property would have

to be either seized or bought, and neither plan would be easy. The Englishman Robert Owen, the Frenchman Fourier, and even such Americans as Emerson either attempted the establishment of "communities" or were interested in them. But when they came up against the selfishness of human nature they were usually obliged to admit that the world has not yet advanced to the point where their ideals would work.

What different types of people might be interested in a proposal to establish a community in which private property should not exist?

In Russia alone has it been possible to attempt a form of communism on a wide scale. After three years of destructive war the Russian people were utterly weary of fighting, and of the government which had been in power when it started. Then the Bolshevist faction, headed by two able and unscrupulous leaders who had adopted the names of Lenine and Trotsky, promised them peace and a new order of things in which equality should prevail — and the people quit. They would resist nothing.

The Bolshevist organization is supposed to rest on the *soviets*, which are associations of people who possess a common interest, as workmen, soldiers, or peasants, but in fact the leaders have kept themselves in power by the use of military force. All officials are supposed to be of the working class. The Bolsheviks flatter themselves that they have abolished the bourgeois and the nobility. To have any vote one must be a worker. All able bodied persons between the ages of 16 and 50 must work; or, as the Bolshevik puts it, all people who are able to work have the right to work, but in the case of men under eighteen, and all women, the right is suspended at night.

Under the Bolshevist government of Russia no man's property is his own if the state wants it. All natural resources, banks, factories, means of transportation, and the

like, are state property. The peasants of Russia have not taken kindly to the rule of the Bolsheviks, because until a short time ago one of their chief aims was to obtain the right to hold private property in land. After they obtained this right, they did not care to lose it.* And so the Bolshevik leaders have compromised their theories with the facts and have decided to refrain from trying to destroy "capitalism" completely. Indeed, it was their announced program of overturning all "capitalistic" governments that made the rest of the world suspicious of them.

What classes of people want Bolshevism to fail? Would another nation equally war-weary have been likely to accept Bolshevik rule? Is it good for the world that Russia has tried Bolshevism?

203. The Anarchist's Notion. — Socialist and Anarchist are at almost opposite extremes in their plans for changing the existing order. The Socialist wishes to extend greatly the power of the state by giving it control of all fundamental industries. The Anarchist goes to the other extreme — he wants to abolish all organized government. He says that after all existing authority and distinctions are removed, people will group themselves together naturally in such a way as to safeguard the interests and rights of everybody. To hasten the process of change the Anarchist will use bombs or anything else that will destroy the people or the things upon which the present order depends. His doctrine appears to be that everything is so bad that the world must be built over again — by him.

By many people anarchism is regarded as the action of maniacs. Is this sufficient explanation of it? Could a man in his right mind be honestly an Anarchist? It has been said that assassination never changed the course of history. Is that true, judging from what you know of our own country's story?

204. How Private Property Originated. — Both socialism and communism are based on the supposition that some features of private property are to blame for the evils of

today. The Socialist therefore demands that capital in great industries shall cease to be private and the Communist wants to adopt common ownership for everything of importance. Practically everybody maintains that it means much for good or ill.

No doubt more than one explanation would be needed to show why or how private property came into being. In very early times virtually everything belonged to the clan or tribe as a whole. Yet when a man by his own efforts made a club or a fox-skin cap, it was natural for him to feel a sense of ownership in it which others had no right to feel. Any gift of Nature which he was strong or active enough to seize for himself he would be likely to claim as his. We can hardly imagine a time when people did not say "mine" and "thine." In fact the desire to make more things "mine" or to make "thine" "mine" seems to underlie much of human history.

Private property in land probably developed after settled agriculture began. In order to plant and to harvest the products, it was necessary to stay in one place, and to have a definite part of the land assigned to each person. When feudalism prevailed in England the nobles who were responsible for protecting their followers and dependents held the title to all land under the king, and the common people — the *serfs* — lived on the manors and tilled the soil. They had to give a certain amount of their product to the lord of the manor. The property could be inherited only by the eldest son, a plan different from that of France, where the owner of property had to leave a portion to every child. For this reason, France today has a great many small estates, while those of England are vast in area. In the United States, most estates are comparatively small, because feudalism never existed here in any real sense.

Is the holding of private property essentially and necessarily selfish?

205. Is Private Property Fundamental?— That a custom has existed for ages is not a conclusive argument that it always should exist. That reasoning was not a sufficient defense for private property in slaves; neither is it alone a complete justification for private property in other forms.



THE TALLEST BUILDING IN THE WORLD.

The Woolworth Building in New York City is world famous. Observe how prominently it stands out even among the other great office buildings of New York business districts. These are all private property. Is the country better off on that account?

Any *right* depends upon whether an institution or custom promotes human welfare.

But society as it is today hinges on private property. By it we rate a man's wealth. Modern industry is built upon private property. The wage system exists, in part, because one person owns what others use or work with. Private property promotes activity and competition. People have something to strive for, and this is an incentive to work. The laws of inheritance are a result of the private owner-

ship of property. It creates a conservative class of people who stand for law and order. Those who have something which could be lost want to keep it safe. It aids in promoting social advancement, for the owning of private property induces people to protect it and improve it, because we usually take pride in what is our own, even though we might not do it for the community's sake. Only when public possession of a certain piece of land would be a great good to the whole community do we permit it to be taken even by the government under the principle of "eminent domain."

Of course there are disadvantages in the private ownership of property. It has some effect on the mobility of labor. We always urge people to own rather than to rent homes, and yet the ownership of property may keep workers in one place when they are badly needed in another. Desire for ownership may lead to greed and unscrupulous business dealings and crimes. Individuals may hold property, especially land, for a long time, and do nothing with it, except to wait until it will bring a high price. This is individual profit at the expense of the community. Public property is extensive, important, and valuable. But even much of this has been acquired by taxes upon those who own private property. Society is kept going by those who have things, not by paupers. To do away with private property would require us to make everything over new.

What difference would it make if our kitchen utensils were owned by the community? our clothes? our automobiles? our churches? Private property is said to afford these advantages: its owner has more independence; it guarantees against social degeneration; it promotes honest government; it encourages utilization of natural resources; it urges invention and industrial improvement; it affords security and permanence of management; it establishes thrift and economy. Do you agree? Is private property essential to democracy?

206. Human Nature in the Problem.—We shall get nowhere by calling names. We have no business to call a person a Bolshevik just because we do not like him or his

ideas, nor to presume that a proposition is unsound because the man who advances it calls himself a Socialist. Will these programs of social reconstruction which we have briefly described make things better than they are?

With much that the so-called "radicals" say, every fair-minded person must agree. There is a woeful lack of co-operation among us. We see the selfish man everywhere. He is so afraid that his neighbor will get more from life that he forgets to use his own powers to the best advantage. He wastes what little he has in putting on an appearance as good as his neighbor. He forgets that by working with rather than against his neighbor he might share part of the latter's happiness and even win more for both. We fight and worry over material gain when we might better be enjoying life and building up wealth of mind and spirit. Surely there should be some way to abolish class distinction in our democracy and set up coöperation as a practical reality.

Yet would this selfishness and greed disappear when we organized industry or society on a new basis? Many people are not now satisfied when they have acquired a comfortable living. Would not that same urge for accomplishment animate them under any social order? Or if that impulse were crushed, would there be sufficient inspiration to make society progressive? Admittedly it would demand executive genius and unerring judgment and absolute fair-mindedness to operate any large-scale socialistic or communistic venture. If these were available in any manager or group of managers, could not unfairness and maladjustment be removed from the present order without completely reorganizing it on a different principle? And if such marvelous capacity for administration did exist, would the mass of the people have sufficient wisdom and freedom from prejudice to appreciate it? The group that thinks of itself as the "underman" holds hard feelings against the "overman." When the underman — if there is such a being — makes himself the master, will he be able to rule society any better than those whom the progress of the centuries has forced to the top? Can we expect him to initiate an era of universal brotherhood by overturning society, when we could get it tomorrow if everybody would practice the Golden Rule?

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Would not a communistic state encourage individuals to "sponge" on others? People are not perfect, and very many of us would not work hard unless we expected thereby to reap some benefits. Would others be willing to work if those who did not work were to share their gain?

We can have little doubt that most of us would prefer "to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of." The words of Abraham Lincoln in 1864 still express what most of us believe: "Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. . . . Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built." But in all fairness we may add the further suggestion: "And let him that has a house strive earnestly to make it possible for each other earnest worker also to have a house, for in so doing he will help to make men happier and himself safer." Little by little we can learn to do things better. As any particular proposal convinces us of its merits, whether advocated by a Socialist or not, we can adopt it, without the suffering and confusion that could not help attending a complete overturn of things as they are. Progress by gradual improvement is the surest kind.

∴ We have numerous programs of radical change which rest on the supposition that the control of capital by individuals is responsible for the ills of society and industry. In so far as these force us to consider seriously the faults and merits of our present system, they will doubtless lead to social betterment. But we must insist that whatever changes take place shall be accomplished through orderly deliberation and decision and not through violence and anarchy.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Teachings of Karl Marx.
Socialist Parties in Europe.
Bolshevist Constitutions of Russia.
Bolshevism in Practice.

Successful "Communities" in the United States.
Community Enterprise in Early American History.
Common Ownership of Property in Early Days.
Legal Complications Arising out of Titles to Land.
Modern Socialist Leaders.
Emma Goldman and Her Kind.
My Idea of Utopia.
Resolved, that all aliens advocating communism or anarcnism
should be expelled from the United States.

REFERENCE READINGS

Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapters 43, 44, 46, 47.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapter 27.
Burch — American Economic Life, pages 506-513.
Cleveland and Schafer — Democracy in Reconstruction, Chapter 4.
Laing — Introduction to Economics, Chapter 30.
Leacock — Elements of Political Science, Part III, Chapter 2.
Ellwood — Sociology and Modern Social Problems, Chapter 15.
Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapter 24.
Seager — Principles of Economics, Chapters 33, 34.
Bryce — Modern Democracies, Chapter 79.

MAKING OUR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT EFFICIENT

"Not with presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you, is the question: Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?" — LINCOLN.

To make America intelligent, moral, and prosperous, every good citizen must strive through his own conduct as an individual and through coöperation with other good citizens. To safeguard and promote the various activities which we undertake in seeking these ends, we must have some agency to act in behalf of the people as a whole. This agency we call the government. What, then, are some of the services which government renders? From what source did our ideals of government come? On what principles is our government founded? What kind of governmental machinery have we set up?

XVIII. ESTABLISHING SOUND PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION

207. Our Need for Government. — Until everybody not only preaches but practices the Golden Rule, we shall need some authority to say "this you must do, and that you must not do." (1) Since we may disagree as to the limits of our individual liberty, our government must fix those limits so that we may know what society thinks is right or wrong for us to do. (2) Since it is the nature of the strong to abuse his strength and lord it over the weak, we must have government to restrain those who ignore or violate the rights of others. (3) To enable us to work under the most favorable conditions for the things which will bring us happiness, our government undertakes services which it can conduct in the interest of all the people much more readily than private citizens could perform them.

What would happen if every form of government or authority should disappear from your school? Would it be possible to enjoy under these conditions any of the four ideals of which we have spoken so often? Will an intelligent man look upon government as a necessary evil or desire it as a positive good?

And so we must have government. Civilization rests upon the foundation of law and order. We have gone beyond that stage in which we think of government as represented simply by a policeman who chases the boys out



Courtesy Reclamation Service.

THE ARROWROCK DAM, IDAHO.

This is the highest irrigation dam in the world, 351 feet. Here we have one of the "ministrant" services of government (p. 422, end).

of the vacant lot. There are other services which our government is rendering. Its manifold services have been classified as protective, industrial, and social.

The *protective* function of government constitutes, perhaps, its primary object. The defense of the people against enemies at home or abroad, the preservation of life and

property from harm and destruction, the assurance to individuals that they may enjoy the rights which are justly theirs, are all examples of this function. It is exercising its duty of protection when it decides disputes between individuals as to their respective rights, as well as when it sends a man to prison for breaking into another's house or when it sends a ship of its navy to some foreign harbor where an American citizen may happen to be.

In exercising its *industrial* functions, the government may pass laws for the particular encouragement of some industry which it believes to be necessary to the welfare of the nation. It may provide for the construction of highways, canals, and bridges, and the improvement of rivers and harbors, or the supervision of the great railroads or other public utilities which mean so much to industrial welfare. Besides, we now admit the right of the state to assure proper conditions of work and to regulate even the hours and wages of some workers.

The *social* functions of the government concern those matters which touch directly the welfare of individuals in their relation to the community. The education of the people, the relief of the poor, the sick, and the insane, the prevention of sickness and poverty, the furnishing of opportunities for recreation and culture, are examples of services which our governments are undertaking more and more extensively every year.

Make a list of twenty specific services rendered by our governments. Under which function does each of these belong? President Wilson, in a book published some years ago, classified the functions of government as *constituent*, meaning those activities which must be rendered by the government if they are to be performed at all, and *ministrant*, meaning those which the government undertakes not because it must, but because it will promote the people's welfare by so doing. Which of the services mentioned in the list you have prepared would be "constituent" and which "ministrant"? Do we consider any governmental services constituent now which we should once have called ministrant?

208. The Source of Our Political Ideas. — We are truly "the heirs of all the ages," building upon a foundation of the vast experience of others. Our institutions and our ideals had their definite beginning in the early days of the history of England. When the Angles and the Saxons came into England they were as earnest haters of tyranny as Americans ever were, and they brought with them not only this love of freedom but a custom of assembly which when transplanted to the new world has become famous as the New England town meeting.

After their conquest by the Normans, the Saxons lost some of their individual liberties, but not in any degree their love of them. As time went on, however, people desired to have it set down in black and white just what "liberties" were theirs, so that no king or lord could excuse himself for not recognizing them. And so *charters* came to play an important part in liberty. They were often granted by the king as a special sort of contract in return for which some service was to be rendered or money paid.

One of the most notable events in English history was the struggle which resulted in the granting of Magna Charta in 1215. The tyrant King John was forced to give to his nobles, who considered themselves as representatives of England, this document which is, in a sense, the basis of both English and American liberty. In it we find the germs of our ideas of speedy justice, of taxation only by consent of the representatives of the people, of punishment in proportion to the crime, of local self-government, and of trial by jury.

In the 17th century, while the Stuart kings were on the throne, another notable conflict occurred. The English Parliament obtained from Charles I in 1628 his signature to a *Petition of Right* which certified the king's consent to respect the liberties of the people from arbitrary interference. Since, however, the Stuart kings kept their word only when they had to keep it, it was not until after the

signing of the great *Bill of Rights* in 1689 by King William III that the danger to the people's rights from willful and oppressive monarchs was really ended. Most of the guaranties in the first eight amendments to our national Constitution are contained in principle in this Bill of Rights, and some have been copied word for word from it. Our English forefathers loved free institutions so much that when, by reason of somebody's bigotry or tyranny, they could not enjoy them in England, many of them risked the perils of founding a new England on this side of the Atlantic. The voyagers on the Mayflower drew up before they left the vessel the famous Mayflower Compact, by which they constituted themselves as a "civil body politick." Of course the Mayflower Compact did not itself plan a government, but it was an agreement to establish one, and shows how important the early colonists believed a government to be. As time went on, these men and their successors showed the capacity to form their own governments. The Connecticut colony in 1639, when it drew up its "Fundamental Orders," set forth to the world perhaps the first example of a written constitution framed by the people who were to use it.

209. Forms of Government the World Has Tried.— Popular government has evidently been obtained only through long and sometimes bloody conflict. It is not hard to see why the first form of government known to man was the *monarchy*—the rule of one man. In the ancient organization of the family, the father, as its head, held complete dominion over the other members. As time progressed families expanded or combined into clans and tribes, each with its chief. When these grew into states the strongest, or perhaps the most cunning, held leadership. When more and more men became strong and crafty, and as more and more force was needed to check them, the people become dissatisfied. Gradually power passed from the

ruler's hands. Perhaps it went to only a few of the strongest of the people, and then there was an *oligarchy*. As those in power became richer and still more powerful, they might be able to leave the rule in the hands of their descendants, and their government might for generations continue as an *aristocracy*. But most often the monarch continued to rule at least in name, but with limited powers. *Limited* monarchies still are numerous among the governments of the earth, but we hope that *absolute* monarchies have passed into "the limbo of forgotten things," along with Czars and Kaisers.

Look up the meaning of *autocracy*, *theocracy*, *bureaucracy*.

But suppose the people as a whole insist that the *sovereignty*, or supreme power, shall remain in their hands. Then they have established a *democracy*. If the people themselves determine policies of law and administration directly, their government is a *pure* democracy. If the people elect officers to make laws and administer the government, it is a *representative* democracy or a *republic*. With so large a body of people who have the right to vote as we have in the United States today, direct government is out of the question. Possibly the whole people could vote directly on big matters of policy — they do so in Switzerland and elsewhere — but it is upon representative democracies that the responsibility of ruling the world rests today.

Democracy is really a thing of the spirit rather than of form. When the people of a nation are motivated by democratic spirit, that nation is a democracy, whether its most prominent official is a king, a president, or a prime minister. Take England, for example. Most of the English people hold to the democratic ideal, and hence England is a democracy even though a king is its nominal ruler. The English people wield their power through representatives even as we do — in some respects to a greater extent.

The ideal of democracy in our country, in England, and everywhere else, has grown with the gradual advance of the nations, but not always in the same way or with equal rapidity.

What reasons might cause a people to continue having a king when they had ceased to allow him any real power? Does the king of Great Britain mean anything to a Canadian?

210. Is Democracy Desirable? — As President 'Wilson saw it, one of the objects of the Great War was to make the world safe for democracy. If this was a cause worth dying for, how can one ask whether democracy is desirable? Yet keen students of public affairs like Mr. Bryce, who observed democracy at work in both his own country and ours, see both advantages and weaknesses in its operation. Let us summarize some of the things they have said.

(1) Democracy is beneficial in that the people are themselves the best guardians of their liberty. If the people are the power in the state, no petty demagogue or selfish tyrant can long deprive them of their cherished rights. Democracy, it has been said, means that the people have the right to make their own mistakes.

(2) Democracy gives the people a spirit of initiative, ambition, and responsibility. They will obey their own laws more readily than those which are forced upon them. Popular government is most conducive to individual progress and general enlightenment.

(3) Democracy makes for peace. When a government's actions are directed by public opinion it is not likely to go to war without reason or on a slight pretext. Monarchs are more inclined to go to war for gain, for conquest, or for personal glory.

(4) Popular government develops patriotism. Tyranny must indeed have overwhelming force to defeat free people struggling for their liberties.

But we need not pretend that democracy is perfect, in this country or in any other. Its abuse is a real possibility, and only by recognizing its weaknesses can we guard against its abuse.

(1) Delay may occur in times of emergency. A government whose powers are exercised by the people, directly or indirectly, cannot be expected to act in time of need as quickly as one person or a small group of people.

(2) The masses are proverbially fickle. They may be swayed by demagogues. An officer or party may be in favor one day and in disfavor the next. George Washington, Woodrow Wilson, and even Theodore Roosevelt are notable examples of men who suffered from that fact.

(3) The majority may be tyrannical and intolerant. The majority when in power may do the very things which they loudly rebuked when out of power.

(4) Individual indifference is common. The "let-George-do-it" spirit is constantly evident in our community life. "Passing the buck" is a common game.

(5) There is disrespect for officials and intolerance of greatness. There is a tendency to think that brains and special talent are not needed for public office, and to turn against men who are distinctly superior to the masses. We are slow to recognize true worth.

And yet democracy is desirable. "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." No nation that has tried real democracy has gone back. The world would not move steadily toward democracy if the principle were not sound. Its faults *can* be remedied. Perhaps our American democracy will never reach perfection, because our ideals advance with our progress, but we can make it serve all the people better and better as the years go on.

Point out some possible mistakes in American history for which democracy may be responsible. Mention some Americans who were not appreciated while they lived. Does your acquaintance with history lead you to believe that monarchs in the long run would do better for people than the people do for themselves? Illustrate.

211. Our Federal Form of Organization. — We have already hinted (§5) that the adoption of a federal form of government resulted from the fact that the original thirteen colonies were settled separately. When in 1776 they declared their independence they became thirteen independent states, each jealous of its individual existence and rights. Under those conditions it was remarkable not that a confederation rather than a closely centralized government was formed, but that even after the Articles of Con-

federation had proved their inefficiency, a formula could be worked out which would offer sufficient central authority to make the combination effective as a united nation. But the work was so well done that, in the words of the Supreme Court, we now consider ourselves "an indestructible union composed of indestructible states." The states are not mere subdivisions of the country, but some of them are older than the union itself.

Another important question was this: How were future states to stand with regard to the original thirteen? Should the original states form a sort of aristocracy, or should new ones be received on equal terms with those that had suffered to establish independence? Political equality of the states was the only wise solution. The newest or least populous state has the same political rights as Virginia or New York and receives the same protection and consideration from the whole Union. Its equal representation in the United States Senate may not be altered without its own consent.

Practically the whole matter of admitting new states is in the hands of Congress, with but one limitation. If a new state is to be made wholly or partly from land already belonging to a state, the consent of that state must be given through its legislature. This has occurred only twice — with Maine and West Virginia. There are no specific requirements as to the population or area of a new state.

Statehood is never forced on unwilling people. When a new state is proposed, Congress usually passes an "enabling act" authorizing the people of a territory to choose delegates to meet in a convention and draw up a state constitution. The constitution is submitted to popular vote in the territory and if it meets with approval there and in Congress, Congress passes an act admitting the new state, just as it would pass any other law. Then the President issues a proclamation stating the fact. Sometimes Congress makes special requirements in admitting a state. Okla-

homa was obliged to prohibit the liquor traffic for twenty-one years and Utah was not admitted until the Mormon church had officially given up polygamy.

What considerations should guide Congress in admitting new states? Should a new state be allowed to have any form of state government it wishes, whether Congress likes it or not? Ought there to be any way of dealing with a state which makes promises at the time it is admitted and disregards them afterward?

212. State or National Sovereignty? — The Civil War, bringing to a decision a long and bitter dispute, definitely established the supreme authority of the nation over the states. In Article VI, Section 2, of the Constitution it had been plainly stated that the Constitution and all laws and treaties made in accordance with it should be "the supreme law of the land," "anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." Yet probably some of the states would not have accepted the Constitution if they had realized that they could not be released from their obligations under it. Calhoun's doctrine that the Constitution was simply a "compact" between the states, from which a state had the right to withdraw, and that the states were the rightful judges as to whether a law of Congress is in accordance with the Constitution, was quite likely the thought of the majority of the people in 1789. But experience and reason teach us that the views set forth by Daniel Webster, in his famous argument with Senator Hayne in 1830, are the only ones which can serve as a sufficient basis for such a government as we want to-day.

This is a union, not a compact. If a state can leave the union whenever it pleases, or obey a law of Congress at its pleasure, this union is indeed "a rope of sand." The Supreme Court of the United States has the last word in the interpretation of the Constitution or the laws of the states and of the nation. If a state passes a law which the United States Supreme Court declares to be contrary to a law of

Congress or the Constitution of the United States, the state must simply make the best of it, and submit to the decision of that august body.

But the relation between the national government and the states is not one-sided. The national government agrees to protect every state from invasion and will, if necessary, aid it to suppress disorder within its limits. If this disorder does not affect the enforcement of the national laws, the federal government waits for an appeal from the governor or legislature of the state before taking any action. But if the disorder within the state interferes with the execution of federal laws, the President may send troops into that state without waiting for a request from anybody. President Cleveland definitely established this principle in 1894 when, because the mail service was interrupted, he sent troops into Illinois against the protest of its governor.

Besides, the national government guarantees to every state a republican form of government. No state is likely to try to set up any other kind, but if it did the federal government would be bound to prevent it. In a decision involving this point the Supreme Court has ruled that Congress, and not the court, has the responsibility of deciding whether the state has a republican form of government. Congress, moreover, is forbidden to make any distinction between states in its tax laws.

Did the doctrine of "state's rights" ever do any good?

If a street railway strike in Cleveland should tie up the street car system in that city, would there be any circumstance under which you can imagine the President of the United States taking any action in the matter? From any other viewpoint than that of the Constitution was it a good thing that the attempt of some of the states to secede was thwarted? Would it be well if Congress instead of the Supreme Court had the final decision in determining whether a state law conflicted with a national law?

213. Relations of the States to Each Other.— With forty-eight self-governing commonwealths carrying on their own separate law-making and administration, and with

travel and transportation from one state to another as easy as it is today, matters cannot fail to arise that involve the relation of these states to each other. The Constitution says that "full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state." Whatever is lawfully done in one state must therefore be recognized by other states as having been a legal act in that state. For instance, a marriage legally performed in one state, with any subsequent effect it may have upon inheritance or the title to property, must be accepted by other states as valid in the state where it was performed, even though other states would not have permitted the marriage. A corporation chartered in one state must be recognized as having a legal right to do business, even though another state might not have granted a charter to this corporation. Each state must admit the products of another state free from any tax or duty.

Every state, too, must grant to the citizens of other states the safeguards and liberties of action that it grants to its own within its own borders. A citizen of Pennsylvania, therefore, while he is in Ohio, has the customary rights of citizens of Ohio and no more. His rights as a citizen of Pennsylvania do not go beyond the borders of his own state.

Suppose, however, that a person who is charged with a crime in New Jersey leaves the state and goes to Wisconsin. In such a case a person who does not willingly return when summoned is to be returned by the authorities of the state to which he has gone. The governor of New Jersey would send a "requisition" to the governor of Wisconsin asking for the return of this person, and a sheriff or similar officer from New Jersey would go after him.

The Constitution, however, provides no penalty for a governor who does not comply with such a requisition. Cases have occurred in which a governor believed that the accused person would not receive a just trial if he were sent back, and therefore permitted the accused to remain safely

in the state where he took refuge. Governors ought, of course, to be sure of their ground when they decline to honor a requisition or else they will encourage law-breaking.

If a person accused of crime escapes to a foreign country the matter of his return has to be taken up by the federal Department of State. We have "extradition" treaties covering such cases, under which those charged with any of the more common serious crimes will be returned to this country. In such treaties exceptions are usually made for those who are called "political offenders." Those who have engaged in rebellion against the government, for example, would be included in this class. It is in keeping with this principle that the Dutch refused to give up the Kaiser after he had taken refuge in their country.

What conditions might arise if states were permitted to ignore the legality of acts that were legal in other states? If you have ever traveled in different states, did you find any embarrassments by reason of differences in laws or customs? If so, what? Would it be possible to invent a punishment for a governor who refused to honor a requisition made by another governor? Can you imagine any circumstances that would warrant a governor in declining to return a fugitive from arrest?

214. Distinctive Characteristics of American Institutions. — If we study carefully the constitutions and fundamental laws of our national and state governments, we find a few general facts standing out very clearly.

(1) These *governments rest*, directly or indirectly, *upon the people's will*. Officials who make, administer, or interpret laws, are elected by the people or appointed by elective officers, and means are always provided by which they may be removed if they are proved disloyal to the people's trust. In a number of the states and local governments, the people even make laws directly (§§ 263, 264).

(2) There is always a *division of functions between the three departments*, legislative, executive, and judicial, and a complete system of "checks and balances" prevails.

The President may veto the laws of Congress, and Congress may impeach and remove the President. The Supreme Court may declare void a bill which it believes to be unconstitutional, and it in turn is subject to impeachment. Treaties are made by the President but they must be ratified by the Senate. Similar provisions appear in state governments, and in some states officials may be recalled from office by the people (§ 264). Whether this "check



WHERE OUR NATIONAL LAW-MAKERS MEET.

and balance" system is wise we shall discuss later (§ 233), but its existence is very real.

(3) There is a fairly definite *distribution of powers between national and state governments.*

The following are some of the specific powers of the *national* government: the control of foreign relations, including making war and arranging treaties; the support of an army and navy; the coining of money; and the regulation of interstate and foreign commerce.

The states are not allowed to issue "bills of credit," that is, paper money, and may not make anything but gold and silver legal tender. We shall never know whether the makers of the Constitution intended to limit the national government in the same

way, but they did not impose such a limit, and it has repeatedly exercised these powers which the states are forbidden to exercise.

In the tenth amendment to the Constitution, we are told that the powers not delegated to the United States or prohibited to the states are "reserved to the states respectively or to the people." This leaves an enormous list of matters which must be administered by the *states*. The protection of life and health, the promotion of education, the care of the poor and the helpless, the supervision of labor and industry, and the regulation of local government are important examples of duties which must be performed almost wholly by the state. If the national government wishes to undertake anything along these lines, it must do so indirectly through the exercise of other powers. In many of these matters, however, there is extensive coöperation between the national government and the state government.

Some *concurrent* powers belong to the national government and to the state. Any government must be able to levy taxes and to borrow money, or else it would be worthless. As a matter of convenience, the trying of certain cases at law, and the passage of bankruptcy acts and laws regulating weights and measures are also not excluded from the jurisdiction of the states, although they are within the province of the national government.

A notable part of our early political history centered around the interpretation of the powers granted the national government. Alexander Hamilton declared that anything reasonably *implied* in the granting of a power could be done in order to execute it. Thomas Jefferson maintained that the national government could exercise only those powers specifically *delegated* to it by the Constitution. Very fortunately Hamilton's broad or "loose" construction of the Constitution prevailed over Jefferson's "strict" construction, and the decisions of the Supreme Court under John Marshall settled the matter permanently. Today the national government does scores of things for which no specific grant can be found in the Constitution. Some of these can be justified only under the general supposition that our national government has all the powers that belong to any independent nation, and that it can therefore do what any nation has the right to do.

(4) But *some powers* exercised in the past by some governments are *specifically forbidden*.

These include the following: *ex post facto* laws, that is, laws which would apply to acts done before the law was passed, for we

believe that a man has a right to know when he does a thing whether it is a crime or not, and if it is a crime what the punishment shall be; *bills of attainder*, by which a person or his family could be sentenced to punishment by law without being given a trial by court; and the *granting of titles of nobility*. Moreover no public official may accept titles or presents from foreign government or officers except with the consent of Congress.

Why do you suppose this restriction is prescribed? Could our Secretary of State be created the Duke of Washington by the King of England? Was it wrong for President Wilson to accept photographs of some of the personages whom he met in Europe?

In the various amendments of our Constitution, too, we find limitations of governmental authority. In addition to the "bill of rights" (Amendments I-X), both the nation and the states are forbidden to permit slavery or to deny any person the right to vote because of race, color, or sex.

216. Constitutions, Making and Altering.—We could very properly add to our list of characteristics of American institutions *a belief in the necessity of a written constitution*. In spite of our obligation to England for so many of our legal and constitutional principles, we are not satisfied, as England is, to do without one. The long-standing and inherited customs of that country, the three famous charters and bills of rights, and certain fundamental laws of Parliament, are thought of collectively as the English Constitution. But we do not consider any American government fully organized until it has secured some fundamental document as a constitution or charter.

If American institutions are so directly the outgrowth of English customs and practices, why do you suppose it is that Americans insist upon written constitutions and England is satisfied without one? Is there any quality in the make-up of the English people that makes it safe for them to get along without one?

Practically every constitution has at least these parts:

(1) The *preamble*, which explains why the constitution was made, and sets forth the purposes considered in the making of the government.

(2) A *bill of rights*, which defines the powers and privileges which the people reserve to themselves.

(3) *An outline of the organization of the government*, mentioning the chief officials, the method of electing them, and their powers and duties.

(4) Sometimes a long list of *special provisions* in regard to matters that may have to be acted upon by the government. (Some state constitutions have gone altogether too far in this respect, for the constitution should contain only those fundamental principles which are essential to the organization and operation of the government.)

(5) *Provisions for making amendments* or a new constitution, for it would be foolish to assume that any political document is so perfect that it will not need changing with the progress of time.

(6) *A schedule*, explaining the conditions under which the constitution should go into effect.

There are two steps in the process of amending our national Constitution — proposal and ratification. Amendments may be proposed (1) by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, or (2) by a special convention which Congress may call if two-thirds of the states request it. Ratification must come from the states, and may be given either (1) by the state legislatures or (2) by special conventions elected for this purpose alone. Congress decides which method shall be used. Three-fourths of the states must ratify an amendment before it becomes a part of the Constitution. All the amendments that have been made so far have been proposed by a two-thirds vote of Congress and ratified by the state legislatures.

Nothing is said in the Constitution about the length of time the states may take to consider ratification, but every amendment so far adopted has been ratified within four years or less from the time when it was submitted to the states. The eighteenth amendment contained in its provisions a time limit of seven years for ratification. There was some dispute as to the constitutionality of such a provision, but it is generally thought to be entirely proper.

Should the process of amendment be rather difficult? Is ours too difficult?

The amendments thus far made, with the dates of their ratification, may be listed as follows :

I-X were a national Bill of Rights (1791).

XI forbade the bringing of a suit against a state in the federal courts (1798). This was probably a mistake. Under cover of this amendment some states repudiated some of their debts, though probably no state would do that kind of thing today.

XII required presidential electors to vote separately for president and for vice president (1804).

XIII abolished slavery in the United States (1865).

XIV declared who are citizens and made certain regulations with reference to matters arising from the Civil War (1868).

XV declared that "race, color, or previous condition of servitude" should not debar any one from voting (1870).

XVI gave Congress the right to levy an income tax (1913).

XVII called for popular election of United States senators (1913).

XVIII provided for national prohibition of the liquor traffic for beverage purposes (1919).

XIX provided for equal suffrage for men and women (1920).

An amendment giving Congress the right to pass child labor laws has now (June, 1924) been submitted to the states, and one bringing forward from March to January the beginning of new terms of the President and Congress seems likely to be submitted soon. An amendment giving Congress the right to pass uniform marriage and divorce laws has also been talked about, but not yet acted upon by Congress.

During the four years following the Declaration of Independence all the states adopted constitutions, except Connecticut and Rhode Island, which continued for many years to use their colonial charters. Every state has made extensive changes in its constitution, and some states have had as many as four or five different ones. The later constitutions are much longer than the early ones. They deal with a much wider range of subjects, but they all contain, with perhaps one or two exceptions, the six customary parts.

States as a rule are more ready to amend their own constitutions than the national Constitution. The older constitutions were made very difficult to amend. Vermont, for instance, has its notorious "time-lock" provision which forbids even the proposing of amendments oftener than once in ten years. The initiative and referendum (§ 263) may be used in many states, though occasionally more than

an ordinary majority of votes is required. In many cases state legislatures may propose amendments, frequently two successive legislatures being required to consent. Some form of popular approval is necessary in every state except Delaware. If a remaking of the entire constitution is desired, it is usually undertaken by a special convention. Commonly such a new constitution must be approved by popular vote before it will go into effect.

In general, do you think that constitutions should be long or short? In states which employ the initiative and referendum, should it be harder to amend the constitution than to pass an ordinary law? What provisions are required in your state for amending or remaking your state constitution?

Find out to what extent the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of your state correspond to the general divisions of constitutions mentioned in this section. How does your state constitution compare with the national Constitution in the relative importance it gives to any of those divisions? Did it really do any good to put a bill of rights into the national Constitution? Is the principle of political equality of states a good thing? What would happen if it were taken away?

Judge Baldwin has written these words: "The Constitution is the garment which a nation wears. Whether written or unwritten, it must grow with its growth." Customs and practices grow up in any nation which are as definitely observed as if they were written down. Such customs and practices we often refer to as the "unwritten constitution."

The existence of what we call the Cabinet, for example, has no warrant in law or the Constitution. The power of committees of Congress to control legislation is firmly established. The presidential electors are mere machines, though the makers of the Constitution meant them to exercise their own personal judgment. No president has had more than two terms, simply because Washington and Jefferson had only two terms. Rulings of the courts, especially of the Supreme Court, also may have the effect of law. It was Justice Marshall's decisions that established the broad construction of the Constitution and not any alteration in its language.

These long-standing precedents may, of course, be set aside without any formal process of change. After one hundred years the speaker of the House of Representatives was deprived of the power of appointing committees, which had given him almost dictatorial authority in the matter of legislation. Roosevelt, if he had lived, would quite likely have been nominated and elected President in 1920, in spite of the fact that he had held the office seven and one-half years already. But until some unforeseen condition brings about a departure from our customs, we observe them almost religiously, and when any one proposes to set them aside he meets with the rebuke of all the conservatives in the country.

Should a person be subject to unfavorable criticism for ignoring a custom which had no standing in law? In what kind of matters is it safe to allow ourselves to be bound by custom alone? Would it be advisable to put into the written Constitution any of the accepted practices to which we have just referred? Is there any part of the Constitution which is forever unalterable? See the last clause of Article V. Could this clause be stricken out?

Have the amendments as a whole increased or decreased the power of the central government? The state of Rhode Island asserted that the prohibition of the liquor traffic was a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of the states, and one of the powers reserved by the tenth amendment to the states or to the people, and that therefore the eighteenth amendment was itself unconstitutional. What do you think of the state's reasoning? The Supreme Court could see no virtue in it. If it were desirable to remove from the Constitution an amendment already made, how would it be done? Were any of the amendments unnecessary?

∴ This country is irrevocably committed to a federal form of government, "an indestructible union composed of indestructible states." Its Constitution is the result of the sound judgment of its makers and the long political experience of free peoples. A good citizen will respect it thoroughly, and when he believes it needs amendment will seek to bring about changes only by the reasonable method prescribed in the document itself.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Dependence of Modern Industry upon Sound Government.

King John and Magna Charta.

The Bill of Rights and Its Place in American Constitutions.

Conflicting Views of Hamilton and Jefferson.

The Webster-Hayne Debates.

Instances of Federal Aid to Maintain Order in the States.

Powers Denied to the States and Why.

John Marshall and His Influence.

The History of a Constitutional Amendment.

Rhode Island's Case against Prohibition.

Resolved, that the national government should be unlimited in its power to deal with matters affecting the public welfare.

Resolved, that the national Constitution should be amendable by a majority vote in a national popular referendum.

Democratic Governments in Ancient Times.

The Extradition of Persons Accused of Crime.

The History of Our State.

Our State Constitution.

The History of Monarchy as a Form of Government.

Federal Governments before the United States.

Modern Federations.

REFERENCE READINGS

Kaye — Readings in Civil Government, pages 76-92.

Follett — The New State, Chapters 16-21.

Bryce — Modern Democracies, Chapters 39, 67, 73, 74, 78.

Hart — Actual Government, Chapters 3, 6.

Gettell — Introduction to Political Science, Chapters 2, 5-7, 14, 15, 24, 25.

Leacock — Elements of Political Science, Part I, Chapters 3, 4, 7.

Beard — American Government and Politics, Chapters 1-5, 8, 22.

Bryce — American Commonwealth, Chapters 2-4, 26-35, 100-102.

Young — New American Government, Chapter 1.

Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 1-4.

Magruder — American Government, Chapters 1-4, 18.

Munro — Government of the United States, Chapters 1-5, 14, 20, 27, 28.

Cleveland — Organized Democracy. (Classes which spend much time on the political phase of this study will find almost every political topic discussed fully in this book.)

XIX. OBTAINING GOOD LEGISLATION

Law-making is fundamental in a popular government. Before executives can act or courts have any business, laws must lay down the scope of their authority and explain how it shall be exercised. But why and how do we obtain laws? By what agencies and means are they enacted? Can we do this work better?

216. Why Have Laws? — The need for government we have already seen (§ 205). To specify and define the services which governments render, laws must be made. It has often been said, perhaps truly, that you cannot make people good, happy, or prosperous by law. Such a statement, however, may be utterly misleading. If we cannot make people good by law, we can at least make it easier for them to be good and unprofitable to be bad. If we cannot make them happy, we can in some measure keep others from making them unhappy. If we cannot make them prosperous, we can insure the safety of whatever prosperity they have and make it easier to obtain more. Laws are not made just to restrain people. If they in some way control our selfish pleasure, it is because each must sacrifice some liberty to obtain equal liberty for all.

But let us be sure we understand just what a *law* is. It is the formal binding statement of the wish of the people with regard to some point of conduct or procedure. It appears in three forms: (1) *Constitutional* law includes the necessary fundamental arrangements for the making and enforcing of future laws. (2) *Statutory* law is that made by a legislative body or by the people directly for the protection of citizens or the promotion of their welfare. (3) *Common* law is that which has come to us through custom or

judicial precedent. Many of our legal ideas are derived from decisions handed down by old English courts.

217. When and How Many?—Some regulation of our actions we must have. Some people seem to think that, if something does not seem to be just right, all we need to do is make a law and the evil will be corrected. But too much regulation, too many complicated laws, lead to discontent and confusion. It is hard for people to know them all, and hard to keep them. A law which is not enforced can cause considerable harm, since it leads to the disregard of other laws and uncertainty as to person's real obligations. Distinctly, then, there can be too many laws.

How shall we know what kinds of laws are undesirable? We must recognize that while, technically, all law is to be obeyed, it is useless to have a law which is regarded as so unreasonable by the people in general that they will not obey it. Some men may sincerely believe that eating meat is harmful, but unless they can convince the community at large that the practice is dangerous to the welfare of the whole group, it would be unwise to prohibit it by a city ordinance. Such laws affecting personal habit are sometimes called sumptuary laws. They are usually hard to enforce even when the act forbidden is hurtful or foolish.

Laws which demand a sudden rise to a higher standard of living on the part of the community than is generally prevalent, or which call for a wide departure from long-standing customs, will usually meet such opposition as to make their enforcement ineffective. We do not mean that a community should never "clean house"; but if a thoroughgoing reform is undertaken, the mass of the people should be back of the movement before the law is passed. To get the law passed by some means first and afterward try to convince the people that it is good, is a much less satisfactory method.

Laws which are purely arbitrary and which cause unneo-

essary inconvenience tend to create disrespect for authority and arouse needless discontent. Laws that are vague and capable of varying interpretations may not be applied justly to all citizens. Minor matters, of little concern to the general public, such as the width of shelves in a public library, should seldom be made the subject of laws.

But let us not be merely negative critics. Laws should be passed when: (1) a custom or practice, an act of omission or commission, on the part of individual citizens menaces the general welfare or the rights of their fellow-citizens; (2) the institution of a new office or governmental service would clearly advance the community's happiness or well-being; (3) a change in the method of doing public business would permit it to be performed more efficiently; (4) the majority of the people are convinced that a change of policy or attitude toward a matter of community interest would make for better living. And when once laws are passed, good citizens should back their enforcement to the limit, making due allowance for difficulties involved in adjustment to new conditions.

What would be your opinion of the suitability for legislation on each of these proposals, and why: regulating the size of windows in houses; forbidding the sale of cigarettes to women; providing that garbage should not be wrapped in newspapers; requiring family prayers before breakfast; forbidding crossing the street diagonally; establishing a free city dispensary of antitoxin; providing city administration of milk delivery; requiring the signature on checks to be in red ink; forbidding the use of money in elections? Should a law never be passed until it is demanded by public opinion?

To assist legislators and others in drawing up bills, several states maintain a Legislative Reference Bureau, where expert advice can be obtained as to the form of laws and the practice of other states and countries with reference to matters or policies. To prepare a measure thoughtfully, and to write it in such a form that it cannot be picked to pieces by pettifogging lawyers or overcritical judges, mean much to the success of any piece of legislation.

218. Law-Making Bodies.— Since law is the foundation of popular government, laws everywhere in the United States are made by representatives elected by the people, unless the people do the legislating themselves. In the New England town meeting and in localities where the initiative and referendum are in vogue, the voters do some or all of the law-making directly. In political communities smaller than the states, the law-making body is usually composed of one group of persons, as a city council, a board of village trustees, or a county board of supervisors or commissioners. But in the large organizations a different system prevails.

For reasons which you will understand if you study English history, the English Parliament has for many centuries had two houses. For reasons which are not in every case alike, all the states except Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Vermont had two houses in their legislatures when the Constitution was made, and every state has two today. What would be more natural, then, than that the law-making body of our national government should have two houses? Many people have always held the theory that if a law had to get by two groups of men before it went into effect it was likely to be wiser and more carefully formulated. Besides, to create a Congress of two houses offered a happy solution of a quarrel between the large and the small states in the Constitutional Convention. And so precedent, theory, and expediency all contributed to the establishment of the two-chamber, or bicameral, principle in our state and national legislation.

In city and other local governments we are steadily tending toward the unicameral idea and finding it better. Is there any essential difference between them and state or national governments which should cause the latter always to be bicameral?

219. Congress.— In the following table are listed the main facts which it is well to know about Congress.

FACTS ABOUT CONGRESS

	SENATE	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NUMBER	96 (two from each state)	Fixed by Congress in proportion to the population but at least one to each state. Present total 435
LENGTH OF TERM	6 years (arranged in three groups whose terms expire two years apart)	2 years
METHOD OF CHOICE	Elected by popular vote (17th amendment). Vacancy filled temporarily by appointment by state governor	Elected by popular vote by districts. ¹ Special election called by governor to fill vacancies
QUALIFICATIONS	30 years old ; a citizen for 9 years ; a resident of the state he represents	25 years old ; a citizen for 7 years ; a resident of the state he represents
PRESIDING OFFICER	President (Vice President of nation). Votes only in case of a tie President pro tempore (elected from body of Senate)	Speaker (elected from body of House)
OTHER OFFICERS	Secretary, Doorkeeper, Postmaster, Chaplain, Sergeant-at-arms (not members)	Clerk, Doorkeeper, Postmaster, Chaplain, Sergeant-at-arms (not members)

Is there any reason why the Vice President should not vote? Who is the Vice President now? Who is President pro tempore?

How many senators were there in 1789? Who are the senators from your state and when do their terms expire? Look up in the Congressional Directory or some other reference book the names of senators who have served several times. Would it be advisable to pay senators higher salaries than representatives?

¹ The State legislatures divide their states into as many districts as they are allowed members in the House of Representatives, each district electing one Congressman. If Congress allows a state an increase in members and it is not redivided by the legislature, the additional members are elected by vote of the whole state. They are called *Congressmen-at-large*. When districts are divided unevenly or into awkward shapes for the sake of giving some political party an unfair advantage, the practice is called a *gerrymander*.

	SENATE	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SPECIAL POWERS	1. Chooses Vice President when there is no electoral majority 2. Tries impeachment cases 3. Ratifies treaties ($\frac{2}{3}$ vote) 4. Approves appointments (in "executive" or secret session)	1. Chooses President when there is no electoral majority 2. Draws up impeachment charges 3. Introduces all revenue measures
SALARY	\$10,000 and mileage to and from Washington (\$.10 a mile). Given a private office, secretary, free stationery, and franking privilege	
SESSIONS	Start first Monday in December each year. In odd years session ends on March 4; in even years continues until the business on hand is finished. President may call special sessions	
PRIVILEGES	No civil suit may be brought against a member during a session or on the way to a session. (May be prosecuted for treason, felony, or breach of peace.) Cannot be held responsible elsewhere for remarks made on floor of Congress. (May be expelled by a $\frac{2}{3}$ vote of his house or may be reprimanded)	
LIMITATIONS	May not hold any other national office while in Congress, nor, during a term for which he was elected, any which was created or whose salary was raised by Congress within that period	

The Senate, by reason of its special powers, of its smaller number, and more experienced membership, has usually greater weight in law-making than the House, if the two bodies disagree on questions of policy. The Senate is very reluctant to give up any prestige or dignity, actual or imaginary, which it possesses, and membership in it is looked upon by many as a very high honor. Only one senator, however, was ever promoted to the presidency directly from that body, and he not because of any prominence that he had attained by his services in the Senate. The House has

rules limiting debate, and therefore wastes much less time than the Senate, but some of its members occasionally complain that it has ceased to be a democratic body and is ruled simply by the leaders of the majority party.

Under what circumstances can you imagine a very extensive change taking place in the composition of the House of Representatives? Does the fact that all of its members are elected at the



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PRESIDENT HARDING ADDRESSING CONGRESS.

When the President wishes to speak to Congress, the two Houses assemble in the Hall of the Representatives. The Vice President and the Speaker are seated on the Speaker's rostrum. In the Senate Chamber the members have individual desks, but there are too many members in the House to make this possible.

same time mean that there are likely to be wholesale changes at every election? Find from the dictionary or some other source why the presiding officer of the House is called the "Speaker." Which is more likely to represent public sentiment at any particular time, the House or the Senate, if there is any difference? Who is the present Speaker of the House? Who are some other prominent members? Who represent your state? Read a copy of the "Congressional Record." Do you think it is interesting?

A new Congress takes office on March 4 of every odd year. Since it is rather foolish to lose all the time between

that date and December, many recent Presidents have used their power to call a special session. Each Congress is known by its number, counting from the first one, which met from 1789 to 1791.

What session of what Congress is now going on or was most recently held?

Do you think that better laws are obtained if two houses compose the law-making body? What disadvantages are connected with a two-house legislative system? At the establishment of our government the salary of Congressmen was fixed at \$6 a day. Would it be wise to pay Congressmen \$1500 a year instead of the salary they are now getting? The Constitution gives each house the power to decide disputes over the election of its members. Would it be better if such matters were handled by the courts? Is there any danger in allowing the members of Congress to say what they please on the floor of Congress? If a Congressman happened to be the editor of a newspaper, would he have the right to say the same thing in his newspaper as he would say on the floor of Congress? Why are Congressmen given the "franking" privilege?

220. State Legislatures. — Most of us know very much more about Congress than about the law-making bodies in the states — even in our own state. It is difficult, indeed, to make any definite general statements about their organization because they vary greatly. The following table summarizes a few of the facts about them.

Generally speaking, state legislatures are not as highly respected as the corresponding national body. More often members are inexperienced; petty local politics are often responsible for their election; the quality of state legislation is often poor. Yet who actually vote for those fellows? The people themselves, of course. Then why can we not get good laws if we want them, and have competent men to draw them up if we will give some reasonable attention to the selection of our legislators?

Be thoroughly familiar with the facts about your state legislature — its composition, sessions, methods of operation.

If legislatures are usually of poor quality, is the fact a reflection

on the legislatures or on popular government? Should we get better legislators if we paid higher salaries? How many of your family who are voters can tell the names of the men who represent them in the legislature? What do you suppose is the real reason for limiting the length of legislative sessions? Why do you suppose some states allow the governor to specify what measures may be considered at special sessions?

FACTS ABOUT STATE LEGISLATURES

NAMES	In 22 states, Legislature; in 21, General Assembly; in 3, Legislative Assembly; in 2, General Court
HOUSES	Upper — Senate Lower — House of Representatives (sometimes Assembly or House of Delegates)
NUMBER	Senators, from 16 to 67; lower house, from 35 to 405 (N. H.)
ELECTED	By popular vote in districts made by state legislature
TERM	Senators, 2 or 4 years; Representatives or Assemblymen, 1 or 2 years
SALARY	From \$3 a day in Kansas to \$3500 a session in Illinois, with mileage and other extras
SESSIONS	Every other year in most states; every year in Mass., N. Y., and N. J.; every fourth year in Ala. Length of session limited in $\frac{3}{4}$ of states. ¹ Governor can call special session
OFFICERS	In Senate the Lieutenant Governor presides if the state has one; otherwise a president is elected from the members; in the lower house a member is elected speaker. Other officers similar to those of Congress
PRIVILEGES AND LIMITATIONS	Similar to those of Congress

221. The Process of Making Laws. — It is not only the construction of a machine but the tricks of its operation that are important. All law-making powers are exercised in the same way — by passing a bill, ordinance, or resolu-

¹ In California the legislative session is divided into two parts. The first is solely for introducing bills. This is followed by a vacation when members can go home to talk over measures with the people. The second is to be used solely for debating and passing measures. Is this a good idea?

tion, drawn up in a certain customary form. Sometimes bills are introduced by members who are personally interested in the matters to which the bill refers, and sometimes by a member who represents a particular committee. A bill is often referred to by the name of the member who introduces it, but sometimes by the name of the chairman of a committee or even by the names of the chairmen of committees in both the Senate and the House, as the Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909.

But all laws do not really originate in Congress or in state legislatures. Presidents, governors, and mayors often propose laws directly by means of messages. Private individuals, organizations, and administrative officials often become interested in some matter and formulate a law concerning it. Then they may bring it to the attention of a friendly member of the legislative body which must act on it. Sometimes he will announce that he introduces a measure "by request."

In outlining the passage of a bill through Congress we may illustrate the general process followed in formal law-making in the state legislatures as well. A bill may be introduced in either house, except that revenue bills must originate in the House of Representatives. It is referred to one of the standing or permanent committees of the body in which it is introduced. If the committee decides that the bill should receive further attention, it is reported favorably to the house, and put on the calendar to await its turn. When that time comes, or sooner if the leaders of the house are willing to have it advanced out of its turn, it may be debated and perhaps amended. A final vote is usually taken by roll-call of the members. If a majority of the members present approve the bill it passes that house.¹

¹ In order to have business done legally, a fixed number of members, known as a *quorum*, must be present. In Congress a majority of the whole membership constitutes a quorum, but in some of the state legislatures a larger number is required. In some states a majority of all the members must vote for a measure on the final vote in order to pass it.

Then it goes to the other house where it goes through exactly the same process. If it is amended in any way it must be sent back to the first house for approval. If the two houses disagree, a *conference committee*, composed of a small number of members, often three from each house, meets and tries to compromise the disagreement. If the two houses finally agree to pass the bill in exactly the same form, it is sent to the President.

The President may do any one of three things with a bill. (1) He may signify his approval by signing it. (2) He may let it go for ten days without taking action on it, after which the bill becomes a law without his signature, unless Congress has ended its session in the meantime. (3) He may veto the bill—that is, definitely refuse to sign it, and send it back to the house where it was

introduced, with a statement of his reasons for disapproving it. If, after the veto, two-thirds of the members present in both houses vote to pass it over the veto, it becomes a law anyway. This is not common.

A bill fails if it is vetoed and not repassed by a two-thirds vote, or if it has been in the President's possession less than ten days when a session of Congress comes to an end, and

OFFICE COMMISSIONER
OF SENATE

H. R. 12001.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 20, 1918.

Ordered to be printed with the amendments of the Senate numbered

AN ACT

To amend an Act entitled "An Act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March third, nineteen hundred and eleven.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
- 2 *tion of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That section two of the Act entitled "An Act to codify, re-
- 4 vise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved
- 5 March third, nineteen hundred and eleven, be, and the same
- 6 hereby is, amended (1) so as to read as follows:
- 7 "SEC. 2. Each of the district judges (2), including the
- 8 judges in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska exercising Federal
- 9 jurisdiction, shall receive a salary of \$7,500 a year, to be
- 10 paid in monthly installments."

A BILL ON ITS WAY THROUGH CONGRESS.

The bill as printed here was introduced in the House of Representatives, passed by the Senate with amendments, and is now before the House again. Changes proposed by the Senate are indicated by italics.

it is not signed by him. This latter method of defeat is called a "pocket veto."

Can you imagine any reason why a President would allow a bill to become a law without signature? or why he should "kill" it by a pocket veto rather than outright? Some governors have the power of vetoing items in an appropriation bill without vetoing the whole measure. Do you think it would be well if this rule prevailed everywhere? In a few states either the governor has no veto or a bill can be passed over the veto by an ordinary majority. Is that a good policy? In what way, if at all, does the process of law-making in your state differ from that described here?

222. Committees and Their Work. — Over 30,000 measures are introduced into Congress in a two-year period. No deliberative body could possibly deal with all this number, and a great many of them are not worth spending time on. A system of *standing committees*, begun over three centuries ago in the English Parliament, has therefore been developed until it plays a great part in American law-making.

Each committee receives bills that relate to a certain general topic and is supposed to separate the sheep from the goats. The national Senate has 34 standing committees with from 3 to 15 members each, and the House has 58 committees with from 3 to 22 members each. Theoretically the committees are elected for each house by its members. In practice, however, they are arranged by a special committee, and the assignments to membership are directed by party leaders. The majority party controls all the important committees. The chairmanship of a committee usually goes to that member of the majority party who has served on the committee the longest time. Some chairmen exercise considerable authority. The position of chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives, which considers revenue bills, is considered next in importance to that of Speaker.

Not only do committees separate the good from the bad, but they often, for purely political reasons or for no reasons

at all, ignore bills completely or refuse to report them back to their house. Thus thousands of measures meet a quiet and unknown death. When a committee makes a report, it may recommend that a bill be passed as it stands or may propose amendments. Sometimes a minority of the committee will make a separate report. If the house wishes to pass a bill which a committee opposes, it may discharge a committee from further consideration of the measure, but this rarely happens.

There are plenty of opportunities for abuse of this committee system of legislation, but no better way has yet been invented to save law-making bodies from the avalanche of bills and resolutions which would otherwise bury them. Perhaps the most practical suggestion for improvement is to require each committee to make some kind of report, favorable or unfavorable, on every measure referred to it. This rule prevails in a few state legislatures.

Should each party have equal membership on every committee? If not, what should be the proportion? What do you think is the best method for selecting members of committees? Is the seniority rule in regard to chairmanships sensible?

Look up the titles and leading members of the important committees of Congress; of your state legislature, if it is in session.

223. Law-Making behind the Scenes.—The public does not know everything that happens in Congress or a state legislature. Not even that extraordinary publication called the "Congressional Record," which is supposed to contain everything that is said in Congress, tells the whole story. Countless tricks and expedients on the part of both members and outsiders are used to pass or defeat bills. Indeed, some one invented the term "invisible government" to characterize those influences which affect the conduct of officials but of which people in general are not often aware.

Lobbying, for instance, means the use of argument or other influence on a member of a legislative body by persons not members of it. Lobbying may be entirely honest and fair. There is no rea-

son why you could not go to your state capitol and, without harm to their morals or yours, talk with members about a bill whose passage you desired. But the methods of some lobbyists are little else than bribery or threats. In order to prevent such abuses, some states have required all lobbyists to register their names and the measures in which they are interested.

By *log-rolling* we mean that members of legislatures agree to support each other's bills — "if you vote for my bill, I'll vote for yours." This is done particularly in passing appropriation bills. This practice is responsible for the very reprehensible "pork-barrel" bills that have disgraced Congress. Many members have desired to have money spent in their districts for wholly unnecessary public buildings or for dredging rivers that were almost dry half the time. Each of those who wished a share of the "pork" consented to have the other fellow's graft provided for in the same bill which furnished his own.

Filibustering occurs when a member of a legislative body talks or demands roll-calls or takes up time in some other needless way in order to defeat a bill. This is usually done near the end of a session, when the time for adjournment has been set. It is usually employed to defeat a bill which most of the members want, although it has been used against bad bills as well as good ones. There is a time limit on speeches in the House; but in the Senate debate is unrestricted, except that two-thirds of the members may draw up a petition asking for the close of debate on some subject, after which no member may talk more than one hour. But when the end of the session is near enough to encourage filibustering this limitation is not effective.

Is filibustering a coward's way of defeating bills? Would it be better to let a bill pass and make the majority accept the responsibility for it, even though a member thought it was a bad bill?

Some senators declare that the privilege of unlimited debate is one of the surest safeguards of democracy. What do you think of the matter? Is there any reason why the Vice President should not be allowed to take part in the discussions of the Senate?

Another harmful practice is that of attaching "*riders*" to a bill. These are provisions which really do not belong in the bill and which would probably be vetoed if passed separately. When they are attached to the bill, a president or governor has to choose between signing or vetoing the whole measure.

The majority party is often tempted to use its power somewhat tyrannically. In the House of Representatives, for instance, the Committee on Rules will sometimes bring in a "rule" calling for a

vote on a measure at a particular time. If the period allowed for debate is very limited, the minority often protests vigorously, though usually in vain. The party caucus is also employed as a means of forcing members to vote contrary to their conscience or judgment. If a majority of the members who belong to one party vote to make a certain matter a party question, the individual members who do not agree with that policy are told that party loyalty requires them to vote as the majority of the caucus has desired.

See if you can find the meaning of these terms used in law-making bodies: pair, yeas and nays, viva voce, division. Are Congressmen or the people who elect them more to be blamed for the deficiencies of our law-making bodies? Is a conscientious member under obligation to vote as the majority of his party associates decree?

224. National vs. State Legislation. — We have already noted that it was in all probability the intention of the makers of the Constitution to allow the central government only certain definite powers, which may be summarized as follows:

(1) *Financial*: Levying taxes; borrowing money; coining money; regulating its value; providing for the punishment of counterfeiters.

(2) *Military*: Maintaining an army and navy; declaring war; making rules in regard to captures in war; granting letters of marque and reprisal.¹

(3) *Territorial*: Making necessary laws for the government of territory belonging to the United States; admitting states to the union; exercising authority over the District of Columbia and other places acquired for public use.

(4) *Commercial*: Regulating interstate and foreign commerce; establishing post offices and post roads; fixing standards of weights and measures; passing bankruptcy laws.

(5) *Political*: Naturalizing foreigners; organizing courts below the Supreme Court; regulating the methods of procedure in any federal court; determining the punishment for treason, piracy, and offenses against international law; proposing amendments to the Constitution (§ vote).

(6) *General*: Passing any laws which shall be "necessary and proper for carrying into execution" any powers vested by the Con-

¹ This means authorising privateering. Civilized nations no longer do this.

stitution in any department or officer of the national government. This provision has been termed the "elastic clause." It certainly seems capable of being interpreted in such a way as to justify almost anything that Congress feels warranted to undertake.

As time goes on, however, we care less about theories of distribution of power and more about accomplishments. If the national government can do certain things more efficiently than the states can do them, the public at large will say it ought to do them. It is noticeable that, whenever some selfish interest is threatened by a proposed activity of the national government, this interest immediately brings up the constitutional objection that the proposed matter is entirely within the province of the states. This has happened too often in such matters as the conservation of natural resources to permit us to believe that such objections are wholly conscientious. Forty-eight states cannot possibly be induced to coöperate to the same end as effectively as the one federal government.

Certain judges and lawyers, whose habit of mind leads them to do things the way they have always been done, are not favorably disposed to the extension of the powers of the national government. But the enormous number of new elements which the makers of our Constitution could not foresee in industry, in social relations, and in governmental activities, and the closer union of our people, have forced a broader attitude. A certain group of questions or problems which from some viewpoints might be under the authority of national government, from others under state jurisdiction, have been characterized as constituting a sort of "twilight zone" wherein we could not be sure just what course to pursue. The tendency is for most of these quietly to slip into the field of national legislation and supervision. Our Supreme Court has in recent years displayed a marked inclination to adapt its interpretation of the Constitution to present needs rather than to be bound hard and fast by precedents or technicalities.

Would manufacturers who employed child labor be in favor of federal regulation of their products? Would a corporation doing a big business prefer to be chartered by the national government or by a state government? Has a business man a right to object to the federal supervision of his business? If so, at what point should such supervision stop? What enterprises of the national government have been performed notably well? Is the extension of the national government's authority any more dangerous to the liberties of the people than a similar extension of the authority of the state would be?

We need have no fear that there will be nothing left for state governments to perform. The state may do anything that it is not forbidden to do. The only limits of its authority are the Constitution of the United States, its own constitution, and what the people will stand for. Its main concern should be simply how it can serve its people best.

Many states forbid what is commonly called "special legislation." In such states a legislature may pass no law with reference to one town, one city, one railroad company, one school district, or one individual by name. Their laws must be drawn up in general terms. To avoid the necessity of dealing in precisely the same way with every city, town, or other corporate body, these are often classified so that a law may be passed for each class, though the seeming intention of such limitations is sometimes evaded by arranging the classes so that only one city or school district, for example, will be in a certain class. "Class legislation" is often forbidden, too — that is, laws for the benefit of one particular class in a community. We may remark, however, that objection is sometimes made that laws are "class legislation" when their real object is to restrain a certain class from possessing undue advantages over the rest.

Do you think it wise to forbid a legislature to enact special legislation? Some states which do not have these restrictions permit the legislature to pass an act altering a person's name. Can you think of a better way to accomplish that kind of thing? Give an example of a law which would be real "class legislation."

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But the present tendency of all governments is to adopt the policy of helping rather than merely overseeing or prohibiting. They take an active interest in aiding business and society to grow better rather than merely keeping them from growing worse. It is, in short, the inevitable march of democracy toward a government *for* the people.

To what extent has your state been influenced by other states in politics, business conditions, and form of government? Which of the following matters are under the jurisdiction of the state, and which of the national government? Why do you make this distinction? Should it be changed in any instance?

(a) Regulating the speed of mail trains. (b) Controlling the inheritance of property. (c) Improving New York harbor. (d) Building war ships. (e) Establishing public libraries. (f) Constructing a canal from Pittsburgh to Lake Erie. (g) Determining the number of pounds in a bushel of potatoes. (h) Laying a sewer. (i) Taxing oranges sent to Italy. (j) Paying the salaries of public school teachers. (k) Issuing Federal Reserve notes. (l) Taxing wheat imported from Canada. (m) Borrowing money to construct roads. (n) Changing the rate of postage. (o) Enacting a city charter. (p) Annexing territory.

In answering this question refer to sections 8, 9, 10, of Article I of the national Constitution. Look over a list of bills passed by the last Congress and see what powers mentioned in this section would justify the passage of those bills.

To what extent does your state constitution limit the powers of its legislature?

∴ Law-making should not be hasty, but undertaken after earnest and careful thought, and aimed to meet a real need or render a real service. The constitutional division of powers between state and nation must be observed, though quibbling over technicalities and abstract theories should not stand in the way of the public good, by whomever it may be rendered. The public has a right to know what is done and how it is done.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The History of a Law.

The History of the Committee System in Legislation.

Lobbyists and Their Methods.

The New Nationalism.

Our State Legislature.
The Make-up of the Present Congress.
Our District and Its Representative.
The Senate at Work.
The House at Work.
The Speaker and His Power.

REFERENCE READINGS

Bryce — American Commonwealth, Chapters 10-20, 40, 44, 45.
Young — New American Government, Chapters 3, 4, 17.
Magruder — American Government, Chapters 5-7, 19.
Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 11, 12, 21, 22.
Munro — Government of the United States, Chapters 10-14, 21, 29.
Beard — American Government and Politics, Chapters 12-14, 25.
Dealey — Development of the State, Chapters 11, 12.
Hart — Actual Government, Chapters 7, 13, 14.
Haskin — American Government, Chapters 20-22.
Lowell — Public Opinion and Popular Government, Part III, Chapter 10.
Bryce — Modern Democracies, Chapters 58, 59.

XX. SECURING EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION

Law-making indeed comes first in a popular government. But a law that has merely been made is no more than a scrap of paper. It is the enforcement that makes it accomplish anything. How, then, are our executives and administrators chosen? What powers are put into their hands? Could our system of administration be improved?

225. The Value of a Good Executive. — When we think of our national government, what element or symbol of it comes first to our minds? First, the flag; next, perhaps, the President. So it is with our state or our own city — it is our governor or our mayor of whom we boast or for whom we apologize. Most of the 500 to 600 men in Congress may be honest, hard-working public servants, and the same may be true of our legislatures and our councils. But we cannot have the same respect for or interest in a committee or a crowd as we have toward an individual. We cannot see the power, but we can see the man.

The chief executive, in fact, proposes our policies. He usually gets the legislative body to act. The scepter in national affairs seems to have passed from Congress. No longer do we look for leadership to a Webster, a Clay, or a Calhoun. It is a Lincoln, a Roosevelt, a Wilson, who directs the course that we shall take. The world judges us by him and his ideals.

Upon the executive depends the efficiency of our government. Does the chief executive want our laws enforced? Then he will use his vast appointing power to secure the ablest men for the actual work of administration. Having selected them, he will back them to the utmost as long as they are faithful and sensible in the performance of their duties. If the executives and administrators are cowards

and incompetents, then woe to the people whom they should serve! The criminal rejoices when the executive is weak. How thoughtful, then, should be the choice of those executives whom we elect! And how painstaking the effort to obtain administrators who can and will do efficient work!

226. The President. — Probably no king or other official on the face of the earth has as extensive authority as the President of the United States. The powers which the Constitution gives to him may be classified under six heads:

(1) *Appointment*: Several thousand officials, including department heads and subordinates, foreign representatives, judges, many postmasters, and officials in the army and navy, are appointed by the President directly and their commissions signed by him. Most of these appointments must be approved by the Senate.

If the Senate does not act upon the appointments made by the President, the President's appointee can hold his office until he is definitely rejected. Along with the power of appointments goes the power of removal, except that federal judges may be removed only by impeachment proceedings.

(2) *Legislative*: Every bill or resolution of Congress with reference to public policy must be submitted to the President (§ 219). By means of messages he recommends measures for enactment. He has the right to summon special sessions of Congress, or of either house by itself. He may fix the time for adjournment when the houses cannot agree.

(3) *Administrative*: He is the *chief executive* and responsible for the general enforcement of the laws. He may call for reports from any department at any time.

(4) *Foreign relations*: He has far-reaching control over foreign affairs. He makes or directs the making of treaties, and decides upon the recognition of ministers from other countries (§§ 282, 283, 285).

(5) *Military and naval*: He is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the state militia when they are in the federal service. In time of war the President is vested by Congress with powers which they would not care to have him possess in time of peace, in addition to his own war powers.

(6) *Judicial*: He may pardon offenders convicted of crimes against the United States, except when the offender has been removed from office by impeachment. This power extends of course to offenses committed in the army and navy.

The Constitution requires that the President shall be chosen by electors, but since these electors are chosen by popular vote, he is indirectly the people's choice (§ 259). A new term begins on the fourth of March of the year following leap year. The President must be at least 35 years old, a native-born American, and a resident of the United States for 14 years. As a matter of fact a number of additional requirements are consciously or unconsciously observed either by the people or by the political organizations which select candidates. Personality, race, religion, and residence do



INAUGURATION DAY. *Copyright, Harris & Ewing.*

The retiring and the incoming Presidents ride in the same carriage to and from the White House. This was one of the very few appearances of President Wilson in public after his illness before he left the White House. When the two men return from the Capitol they exchange places in the car.

count, whether they should or not. Perhaps we have had no presidents who actually disgraced the position, but some have succeeded much better than others. Great men do get into the presidency sometimes, but other reasons than greatness have been responsible for the residence of several gentlemen in the White House.

The President is elected for a four-year term, and there is no constitutional limit to the number of terms he may serve. Because Washington, for personal reasons, did not care to accept a third term, no one else, so far, has been honored with a third election; but it is well to leave the matter so that the people in a great emer-

gency could, if they wished, elect a President for more than two terms in succession. The President receives a salary of \$75,000 a year, and in addition to this, as an allowance for traveling expenses, as much of \$25,000 as he uses. He has the free use of the White House and the executive offices during his term as President.

In case the President should die before the end of the term for which he was elected, or become wholly incapacitated, or be removed by conviction after an impeachment trial, or resign, it is the duty of the Vice President to take the office of President. Once in the office, the Vice President has all the powers that go with the office, and becomes President both in fact and in name. As Vice President, however, he has nothing to do except preside over the Senate, and attend Cabinet meetings if the President wishes him to do so. The Vice President's salary is \$15,000.

Congress passed in 1886 an act arranging for the succession to the presidency in case both the President and the Vice President are unable to serve, so that the Cabinet members in the following order stand next after the Vice President: the Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, and Secretary of the Interior. There were no other Cabinet members at the time the act was passed. If the vice presidency becomes vacant it remains vacant. The succession of the Cabinet officers is to the presidency only.

Might a person be a great Congressman and not a great President? Might he be a great judge and not a great President? Would a business man with no political experience be likely to make a great President? Would a great general or admiral make a great President? What four men seem to you to have met most fully the requirements of the presidency? Why? Be sure you distinguish between their services in the presidency and elsewhere.

If the President's appointments have to be confirmed by the Senate, would it be well to have the Senate agree when he removes an official? Review the points involved in the impeachment trial of President Johnson. Should the President have the right to veto a bill simply because he does not like it, or should the veto be reserved for measures whose constitutionality he questions? In what way can the President be really responsible for taking care "that the laws be faithfully executed"? Why, in time of war, is it customary to give the President so much more power than in time of peace? Could the President pardon a man convicted of murder? of breaking into a post office? of deserting from the army? of embezzlement?

227. Our Cabinet. — As far as the Constitution or laws of the United States provide, there is no such thing as a Cabinet, any more than there is in England. It is true there is a clause which says: "The President may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices"; and there is another



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PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND HIS CABINET.

Left to right, around the table: President Coolidge; Andrew Mellon, Treasury; John G. Sargent, Attorney General; Curtis D. Wilbur, Navy; William M. Jardine, Agriculture; James J. Davis, Labor; Herbert Hoover, Commerce; Hubert Work, Interior; Harry S. New, Postmaster General; John W. Weeks, War; Frank B. Kellogg, State.

reference to "heads of departments"; so that evidently the makers of our Constitution expected that executive departments would be organized. The number of Cabinet members has increased from four, under Washington, to ten.

The Cabinet has two great functions: (1) It carries out the administrative work of the government. Each head of a department is responsible to the President for his particular part of the work, and has under him many officials, a large number of whom he either appoints or recommends to the President for appointment. (2) The Cabinet mem-

bers act as advisers to the President. In the early days of our government, the President consulted the members separately, as he still does on occasion. But now they meet regularly as a group, and special meetings may be called at any time.¹

The President is under no obligation to follow the recommendations that his Cabinet makes, but if they continually disagree, the members usually resign. The relations between the President and the Cabinet are so close that, unless they can work in harmony, matters will be very uncomfortable. It is presumed that Cabinet officers are appointed for a four-year term; but since the President may at any time require the resignation of a Cabinet member, or put him out of office if he does not resign, their tenure is really determined by the President.

Should the members of the Cabinet be selected because the President likes them personally or because they are capable men? Which is more likely to give the country a good administration: a strong President with a weak or ordinary Cabinet, or a President who is not a leader but has a strong group of advisers? Should the Senate confirm without question the Cabinet appointments made by the President?

The chart on the following page shows the sub-divisions of each department, and the numerous independent establishments, as they existed in 1921. In the interest of improved administration, the President transferred in 1925 the Patent Office and the Bureau of Mines to the Department of Commerce, and will probably make further changes. Officially there is no distinction in rank among the departments, yet it is customary to mention them in the order in which they were created. The Secretary of State is sometimes thought of as the highest ranking member of the Cabinet, and if there is any primacy among the Cabinet officials it belongs to him.

¹ Many people think that the Vice President ought to attend the meetings of the Cabinet. Coolidge, while Vice President, did so at the invitation of President Harding. In the present administration, this precedent is not followed.

State Department: (1789) in charge of foreign affairs under the President's direction; keeps government archives, such as original copies of laws, treaties, proclamations; Secretary of State; Under Secretary.

Treasury Department: (1789) administers financial affairs of the national government; Secretary of the Treasury; Assistant Secretaries. The Bureau of the Budget now belongs to this department (§ 267), and the General Accounting Office has taken over some of the work formerly done here.

War Department: (1789) in charge of the United States army and other activities performed by it or related to it; Secretary of War; Assistant Secretaries.

The General Staff, headed by the Chief of Staff, including a number of army officers of different ranks, has a direct oversight of matters relating to the administration of the army and forms a kind of connecting link between the Army and the War Department. The Secretary of War is usually a man from civil life, and though he is next to the President in authority over the United States Military Service, he cannot be expected to know intimately all the needs of the army as they appear to military men. The Chief of Staff is the highest officer of the army during the time for which he holds that office.

Department of Justice: (Attorney-General, 1789, Department organized, 1870) the legal branch of the federal government, responsible for the prosecution of violators of federal law; Attorney-General; Solicitor-General, who makes rulings on points of law; one assistant to the Attorney-General; four Assistant Attorneys-General.

Post Office Department: (1829) Postmaster-General; four Assistant Postmasters-General.

Navy Department: (1798) Secretary of the Navy; Assistant Secretary.

Department of the Interior: (1849) a composite department with little unity except that its interests are domestic; Secretary of the Interior; two Assistant Secretaries.

Department of Agriculture: (1889) Secretary of Agriculture; two Assistant Secretaries.

Department of Commerce: (1903) Secretary of Commerce; Assistant Secretary.

Department of Labor: (1913) Secretary of Labor; Assistant Secretary.

Be sure you know the names of the present occupants of the Cabinet positions. Guess why the Public Health Service and the Se-

cret Service should be in the Treasury Department; the Pension Office in the Interior Department. Are there any of the positions mentioned in this section which could be satisfactorily filled by a person whose only public experience was participation in politics? How many of these positions need to be changed when a President of a different party takes office? The present salary of Cabinet members is \$15,000. What inducement do you think the offer of a Cabinet position would have for a successful business man or lawyer? How many members of the present Cabinet do you imagine would make more money doing something else? Is money the only object for holding a public position or any other?

228. Special Commissions and Institutions.—A number of important activities of the federal government are conducted outside the range of the regular Cabinet departments. They are of such special character, in most instances, as to require experts to work on them all of the time, and they are responsible, as a rule, directly to the President.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, created in 1887, and now expanded to eleven members, has jurisdiction over the enforcement of laws for the regulation of railroads, telephones and telegraphs, express companies and oil pipe lines doing interstate business.

The Civil Service Commission, of three members, who must not be all of the same party, attends to the giving of examinations before appointments to offices in the classified service.

The Federal Trade Commission, of five members, not more than three of whom may belong to one party, investigates the workings of corporations and may make recommendations and reports concerning their activities.

The Tariff Commission, of six persons, not more than three of whom may be of one party, may investigate problems affecting the tariff and make recommendations for changing it.

The Federal Reserve Board has entire supervision of the national banking system in the country.

The Federal Farm Loan Board has similar authority over the Farm Loan Banks.

The United States Shipping Board, of seven members, has the important duty of promoting and building up the American merchant marine.

Congress from time to time creates and abolishes boards and commissions for various purposes. Such boards vary greatly in importance.

The Government Printing Office does the printing for the federal government, and is the largest institution of its kind in the country.

The Library of Congress, one of the largest in the world, and housed in one of the most beautiful buildings, is under the direction of the Librarian of Congress. It has charge of the granting of copyrights for books and other publications of all kinds.

The Smithsonian Institution and the *National Museum* have collections of almost every imaginable nature, which are of great scientific and historical value.

229. Administration in State Governments.— So much variety appears in the administrative branch of the state



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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

governments, that it is hard to make general statements about them. To know your own state's business you will have to study its own constitution, its Legislative Manual or Handbook, and whatever printed material is issued under its direction to explain the workings of its government.

At the head of the executive department in every state is the *Governor*. He holds very much the same place in the state that the President does in the national government. He may be elected for

two, three, or four years, according to the laws of the state. He passes on bills, is at the head of the state militia, appoints many executive officials, and has the other usual powers of a chief executive. In many states, the Governor has the pardoning power, but in others he is happy to turn over the responsibility to a Board of Pardons.

About two-thirds of the states have also a *Lieutenant Governor*, who presides over the state senate, and takes the governorship in case of a vacancy.

Every state has executive officials, but in only a few of them are they coördinated in any such way as to form a cabinet. The *Secretary of the Commonwealth* or *Secretary of State* keeps official records and papers. The *Attorney-General* is the legal adviser of state officials. The *Treasurer* has the usual duties of such an officer. The *Auditor* or the *Auditor-General* or *Comptroller* inspects the accounts of other officers and sees that all money spent from the treasury has been authorized by law. Usually there are several other more or less important officials who are in charge of the various phases of the work of administration. Whether these officials are appointed by the Governor or elected by the voters depends upon the constitution and laws of the state.

Study thoroughly the administrative organization of your state. Know the names of its chief officials.

230. Obtaining Capable Officials.—Any business man will tell you that the first consideration in efficient government is to get competent people to do the work. But how are we to get them? Three methods are available: election by popular vote, appointment by the head of a department or bureau, and selection by competitive examination.

Law-makers are almost universally chosen by *popular election*, but this is by no means the surest way to discover whether a man possesses the particular qualifications needed for an executive or administrative office. For state governments, officials who handle public money are usually chosen by popular vote, on the somewhat illogical theory that the people should elect the officers who handle the people's tax money.

Appointment often secures good men, when the appointing officer really wants to get that kind and when he has

personal or first-hand information of the merits of suggested candidates. But an appointing officer may have thousands of jobs to hand out. Then he must depend upon his advisers to suggest names. Here is where the spoils system gets in its deadly work; for politicians will propose the names of people whose only claim is reward for party service, regardless of the fact that a man may be a tremendous success in getting voters to the polls but a howling failure as a postmaster. Americans, however, could not see the evils in the spoils system until after it had killed President Garfield.

Then the Civil Service Commission was established, under the Pendleton Act of 1883, to give *examinations* before appointments should be made to certain positions in the government service. The President was given the right, within fixed limits, to designate what offices should be filled in that way. President Arthur did what he could to get the plan into operation and later Presidents, notably Cleveland, during his second term, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, greatly expanded the scope of the "classified service." By this term is meant those offices which are arranged for purposes of examination so that appointments can be made on the basis of merit. In a few state and city governments a similar system has been set up.

It does not always follow that the person who can pass the highest written examination is necessarily the very best person for the particular position. Therefore a choice of the three highest is usually allowed the appointing officer when a selection is made. This privilege, of course, is frequently abused so as to take the person among the three highest who is most satisfactory politically. For such positions as important postmasterships, however, a written examination counts only a part of the whole test. Candidates are rated very largely on business experience and proved executive ability. Very likely executive positions in which great responsibility is vested should always be filled by personal appointment, for there are certain qualities which cannot be tested by any kind of examination yet devised. But for clerkships and for positions demanding technical skill and special knowledge, the examination system is admirable.

By some means it ought to be possible to make public service a dignified profession which might well serve as a life career, but this will not be as long as party politics have as much influence as they do now. Salaries paid are not large for high-grade workers, and this is perhaps one reason why too few officials do high-grade work. A system of pensions for public officials has been proposed, as a means of encouraging better service, but the general public has not become enthusiastic over the idea.

What qualifications should an officer have to engage effectively in the enforcement of laws against ordinary crimes? of tax legislation? of laws that raise the question of constitutionality? Would a former saloon-keeper be a good man to enforce prohibition?

In what ways would you test a person if you were considering him for appointment as postmaster? postal clerk? clerk in a custom house? census official? important subordinate in the Bureau of Chemistry?

Do you think high salaries and a pension system for public officers would get better people into public services? Make a list of 5 officials who you believe should be elected; 5 who should be appointed; 5 who should be chosen by competitive examination. Be able to give your reasons in each case.

Obtaining capable officials involves removal of the unfit. Some cities and states permit the recall of officials by popular vote at a special election (§ 264). Usually the officer who makes an appointment may also remove the person whom he appoints, but in the classified service a person may be removed only for cause, and after a hearing if he wishes it. To reach judges and executive officials who are charged with misconduct, the Constitution gives to Congress the power of impeachment. State legislatures and city councils usually have similar authority with reference to executive or judicial offices.

As conducted in the national government the impeachment trial follows this process. The House of Representatives formally draws up charges demanding the removal of an official. This, be it understood, is the *impeachment*. An impeachment does not necessarily

mean conviction. After the impeachment charges are presented the accused person is then tried by the Senate. The members of that body hear the evidence and then vote as if they were jurymen. If two-thirds of the senators vote guilty the accused official is automatically removed from office. The Senate may add, as a further penalty, if it wishes, that the officer may never hold another position under the United States Government. If he has been guilty of a crime he may, after removal from office, be subject to the same kind of trial in ordinary courts that another person would receive.

Probably impeachment trials have not been as numerous as the makers of the Constitution expected. There have been only eleven impeachment cases in our national history and only three of these resulted in conviction. A few governors have been removed from office in the states by impeachment.

Is it well that impeachments should be few? Why is a two-thirds vote necessary for conviction?

231. Improvements in Law-Enforcement.—If Americans break more laws than the people of other advanced nations, some of the fault may rest on the machinery of government. We will not willingly admit that Americans are more criminally inclined or more wicked than other people. Surely the great majority of them are law-abiding. Law-making bodies sometimes satisfy the clamor of would-be reformers by passing laws with no expectation that they will ever be put into operation. Almost every city has laws against spitting on the sidewalks, but, except in the West, where consumptives throng in the hope of being cured, is any attempt made to enforce them? Law-enforcement, then, demands that laws shall be made only in response to a real need and that they shall be so drawn as to make enforcement as easy as possible, and to permit no excuse for misunderstanding them.

Next we must get officials who are qualified by temperament, intelligence, and energy to enforce the laws. Common honesty and common sense are fundamental. When such officials are found, their superiors should back them up unflinchingly. Neither policemen nor any other offi-

cials will exhibit any enthusiasm in catching law-breakers if political pull or personal friendship or any other baneful influence enables these to get off without punishment. Speed and certainty of action in the courts mean much in bringing about obedience to law. Back of it all is public opinion. Public officials are for the most part cowards before public sentiment. They will enforce or ignore a law as



Central News Photo Service.

CAUGHT IN THE ACT.

This view of an illegal still in operation was taken in the hills of Georgia. The making of moonshine was frequent in such neighborhoods long before we had constitutional prohibition. What reason, if any, could these people offer for their disregard of law?

they think will please the majority. When an official persistently fails to do his duty, there are ways to bring pressure to bear on him. Editorials, cartoons, and communications in newspapers and magazines have often been the means of stirring up a dormant public sentiment. Mass meetings and appeals through lodges, churches, boards of trade, and the like also have a place. In the long run a community has only itself to blame if it has a reputation for lawlessness.

232. Reforms in Administration.— Another respect in which the machinery of government can be made more effective is in its organization and arrangement. Few business men would expect to prosper if their shops and factories were put together in the haphazard, accidental fashion in which the public service has been scrambled.

Consider, for instance, the grouping of bureaus and subdivisions in the executive departments at Washington: The Public Health Service and the Secret Service in the Treasury Department; the Bureau of Pensions in the Department of the Interior; the Alaskan reindeer under the Bureau of Education; thirty-eight different bureaus having to do with Alaskan affairs; brown bears, polar bears, and grizzly bears, it used to be said, looked after by three different departments of the Cabinet!

The readjustment of these various Bureaus has often been seriously considered. New departments, such as Public Works, and Education and Welfare, have been proposed, as well as the breaking up of the Department of the Interior. A few years ago, Congress even authorized a commission to consider a complete reorganization of the various Cabinet departments. Its report, though given the support of President Harding, made no headway in Congress. The President has been given authority to make transfers of bureaus from one department to another, if they would not involve changes in the functions of departments as a whole. Undoubtedly, a thorough reorganization would reduce the number of subordinate bureaus and clerks with a consequent saving of money to the people.

State governments are usually even worse off. Most governors have no cabinet at all, and coöperation among state officials has been almost an unknown quantity. This lack of efficiency has worried the souls of some really businesslike governors, and, beginning with Governor Lowden, of Illinois, they have succeeded in inducing the legislatures of several states to reorganize the administrative branch of

the government. Instead of dozens of bureaus, commissions, secretaries, and the like, all administrative functions are centralized under seven, nine, or some other small number of department heads appointed by the governor. To make all the desirable changes it may sometimes be necessary to amend the state constitution. Officers who are elected by popular vote usually feel independent of the governor, and we cannot rightly hold a governor responsible for the efficiency of officers over whom he has no authority. If we provide honest, capable service, people are much less likely to complain about reasonable taxes.

Why is a governor generally glad to get rid of the pardoning power? Would a strong man or a weak man like better to have administrative authority centralized in the governor's hands? Is your state government organized on a business basis? Does it need house-cleaning and reconstruction? Why do you suppose the reorganization of national and state governments suggested here has been delayed so long? Would it be well to have all matters in state administration of a distinctly business nature handled by one official after the plan of a city manager (§ 254)?

233. Responsibility in Government. — To a greater degree by far than the makers of the Constitution would have imagined, our government is virtually committed to a system of presidential responsibility. Yet we restrain him constantly by the system of checks and balances on which our national government and most state governments are organized. Altogether too often there is no coördination or coöperation between the executive and the legislature. Each one seems to exist for the purpose of preventing the other from doing something, and the courts come in as a check on both of them. Especially if the President belongs to a different party from the majority of Congress, a most unpleasant state of friction may develop. In the business world we see no such system of checks and balances. Of course there must, in any well organized administration, be means of finding out whether the officials are

doing their duty and spending money properly, but generally much more is accomplished when they are given authority to do things and held to strict accountability for the way they exercise that authority.

The President has the appointing power, as do the governors. Sometimes the executive makes use of the "patronage," or jobs, at his disposal to get law-makers to support bills in which he is interested. But the President must submit his appointments to the Senate for approval.

In this connection a curious custom known as "senatorial courtesy" has arisen, which often seems childish. The senators from a state, especially if they belong to the President's party, like to insist that their approval shall be given to any person from that state who is appointed by the President to any public office. If they do not like him, other senators may vote against him, expecting that similar "courtesy" will be shown to them if the occasion should arise. By reason of this custom, good men have failed of approval simply because some senator had a grudge against them.

The President's control over foreign affairs, too, may enable him to commit the country to policies to which Congress can hardly refuse to consent without putting us in an embarrassing position before the world. Yet the Senate must confirm any treaties which the President makes; and so anxious were the makers of the Constitution to impose a reasonable check on this feature of his power that they imposed an unreasonable one. Since treaties will not go into effect unless ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, 33 senators out of the present 96 may thwart the wishes of the other 63 and of the President. This would be minority rule with a vengeance.

The President, in the words of the Constitution, "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." President Wilson's revival of the practice of delivering messages before Congress in person, continued by President Harding, has made the message more effective than for-

merly. But if Congress is controlled by the opposite party, presidential opinions may not accomplish much.

Before Mr. Harding took office as President, he announced that he expected to be a constitutional President. Many presumed that he would make no attempt to tell Congress what it ought to do, but would simply retire to the White House offices and wait for information from them as to what laws they would have him execute. Yet after he became President he interposed directly and frequently, while legislation was still before Congress. He found how much the country needed the President's urging to get anything done on time or in order. But the checks and balances remain.

Would anybody's liberties be endangered if the check and balance idea were at least partly abandoned?

234. Should We Have a Real Cabinet System? — We take the name "Cabinet" from the English body which has that name. But there are a number of fundamental differences between our President's official family and the English Cabinet. Ours is not a Cabinet *system* at all.

(1) Members of the English Cabinet are members of Parliament, while members of the United States Cabinet cannot be members of Congress. Why?

(2) The English Cabinet may and does prepare all important laws. Our Cabinet can only recommend bills or have them introduced by some member of Congress as a special favor.

(3) Members of the English Cabinet belong to the majority party in the House of Commons. When they lose control of this body, they resign. Our Cabinet members are usually members of the President's party and hold their offices as long as they please him. They may or may not belong to the majority party in Congress.

(4) The English Cabinet acts together with the prime minister as the real head of the government. Our Cabinet members may disagree on any matter, and all are subordinate to the President.

Some people think that the United States would do well to take over some features of the English system. As it is now, the Cabinet cannot have anything to do with law-

making except in a roundabout way. It sometimes has difficulty in getting the necessary laws passed to carry out the work of the various departments. If Congress would extend to Cabinet members the courtesy of speaking before sessions of either house, the Cabinet officers could explain their plans and the needs of their departments, answer questions, and there would doubtless be a better understanding all around. The fact that Cabinet members may belong to a different party from the majority of the members of Congress makes the two groups sometimes pull against each other when they should cooperate. Such a possibility cannot be prevented without amending the Constitution; and as long as the responsibility for the administration of the government is centralized in the President's hands, Congress is interested in the personnel of the Cabinet only as all good citizens are.

Whatever problem exists on this point is simply this: is it better to centralize both law-making and law-enforcing responsibility in the hands of one group of men; or is it better to have the responsibility divided between a Congress to make laws and a President to be in charge of their execution? The majority of civilized countries prefer a system in principle like that of England. The smaller republics of the New World, which patterned their governments on the form of the United States, generally have the presidential system.

If we should care to adopt the English Cabinet system, what changes in our Constitution would have to be made? Is there any reason why a self-governing people like the English would prefer a Cabinet system to our system if they continue the monarchy?

∴ Effective administration calls for well-planned laws, officials chosen with regard to their fitness for the work which they have to do, and a strong public sentiment to sustain capable officials. Our inherited adherence to the principle of political checks and balances must not prevent us from giving responsibility to properly qualified officials and holding them to accountability for the way their work is done.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Organization of Our State Administration.

The Personality of Our Presidents.

The Present Cabinet.

The History of the English Cabinet System.

The History and Objects of Civil Service Reform.

Civil Service Commissions.

Reorganization of State Administration.

Reorganization of Federal Administration.

Resolved, that our Constitution should be amended so as to institute the English Cabinet System.

Resolved, that the check and balance principle is a detriment to efficient government.

The Library of Congress.

The Smithsonian Institution.

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XXI. PROTECTING RIGHTS THROUGH THE COURTS

Legislatures may make laws and executives put them into operation, but something more is needed to protect the rights of citizens and restrain those who disregard the rights of others or their own obligations. By what agencies are rights safeguarded and obedience enforced? How is the machinery for this work constituted? How can their services be best rendered?

235. Rights That Need Protection. — We move toward the attainment of our ideals by getting them transformed little by little into rights. The rights which we have thus



A QUIET MOMENT IN TRAFFIC.

People are coming from a subway exit on Tremont Street, Boston. The policeman is directing their crossing of the street.

secured may be classified as *personal* rights, *property* rights, and *political* rights. Since the latter group, including such

rights as voting and office holding, are possessed by only part of the people, we will leave them out of our discussion at this point.

Among our personal rights are those forms of liberty that we refer to as freedom of speech, of the press, of religion, of petition, of assembly, of unmolested movement, and the right to a good reputation. Our property rights include the ownership of private property, the privilege of using it as we please if we do not harm the community by its use, and freedom from molestation, seizure, or destruction by others.

These rights may be menaced by either the unreasonable acts of others or false definitions of their meaning. The right of free speech, for instance, must sometimes be restrained. The circulating of malicious untruths against an individual by word of mouth is called *slander*; by printing or writing, *libel*. Surely no one's freedom should go so far as to justify these. And if a person is wronged by such an abuse of liberty on the part of another, he may justly ask his government to aid him in obtaining such reparation as is possible.

Show how any of the other rights mentioned may be violated by other citizens or by officials. Point out also the limitations that may be needed in order to prevent the exercise of these rights from harming other citizens or the welfare of the community. What persons, if any, might be opposed to free speech or a free press? Should teachers and preachers have complete liberty to express their personal views on public matters?

236. Constitutional Safeguards. — Did it ever occur to you that you could hardly claim anything as an absolute right until it was set down in black and white by some sovereign authority or by agreement of all parties concerned? If I claim the right to perform a certain action and you deny my right, which of us is correct? Therefore we set down definite provisions in our constitutions and laws, that none may have any excuse for misunderstanding their rights or their limitations. We must play safe.

We therefore added to our national Constitution as a Bill of Rights, promptly after its adoption, the first ten amendments, as a visible guarantee of our liberty. Freedom of religion, speech, assembly, and press, for example, cannot be abridged by Congress. Later Amendments XIII, XIV, and XV aimed to secure equality before the law, particularly for the negro but incidentally for people of any color.

It is important to observe, however, that an American has two kinds of citizenship. He is a citizen of the United States, enjoying certain rights and privileges on that account, and a citizen of his state, which has jurisdiction over a much greater number of matters than the national government. The Bill of Rights in our national Constitution binds only the national government. For all that this document says, Pennsylvania could command her citizens to join the Quakers and New York forbid the publication of any but Republican newspapers. But states have put similar bills of rights in their own Constitutions, and thus we have a twofold safeguard.

Study the Bill of Rights in your state constitution and compare it with that of the national Constitution. Make a list of five or more rights or privileges for which you are indebted to the national government, and a similar list for the state government.

Do you think it probable that any of these rights will ever be taken away? By whom or in what way might the number or extent of your rights be altered?

237. Agencies to Maintain Order. — In a free government, maintaining order means nothing else than assuring us that rights are protected. The rural constable, the city policemen and detectives, and the county sheriff are vested with this responsibility in particular. Some states, too, have a state police force, or constabulary, usually wonderfully capable and effective. These agencies and officers are constantly on duty or subject to immediate call.

The army and navy of the nation have their only sensible excuse for existence in the need for suppressing pirates

and outlaws and the defense of citizens from foreign enemies. The secret service, too, is a valuable aid in detection of criminals. Established first to discover counterfeiters, these men are now used to protect public officials and to root out all kinds of crime.

An agency that is available when special emergencies arise is the state militia or national guard. These volunteer troops are managed by state officials but supported in



A LIMITATION OF PERSONAL LIBERTY.

For your sake and the sake of the community this man may command you to refrain from something you would like to do.

part by federal contributions. They may be called into active service by the Governor of the state when local police forces and sheriff's deputies prove inadequate. Most often this is done when serious and prolonged disorder occurs in connection with an industrial dispute. Federal troops, too, may be sent by the President when national law or administration is menaced or when the state authori-

ties appeal for help in a situation that is beyond their control. When conditions like these arise, "martial law" may be proclaimed in the disturbed district, and military rule for a time will replace civil authority.

But the courts, after all, are the agency by which law and order are made effective upon dishonest, careless, or unruly citizens. They alone have the right to deprive men of their liberty for any length of time, or to command them to pay money as compensation for wrongs done to other men or to the state. If the courts are strict and exacting, the criminal and the contract-breaker have little encouragement to disregard law and justice.

There are some offenses which society cannot tolerate. Men may find fault at ordinary times with the conduct of public officers, but when such fault-finding incites disrespect for law and order or urges the overthrow of the government it becomes *sedition*. It is next door to *treason*. This latter crime, under our Constitution, is limited to making war on the United States or giving aid and comfort to their enemies. Conviction for it is not easy, since it can be obtained only after confession or the testimony of two witnesses to the same treasonable act.

How far have you the right to go in criticizing public officials? in circulating reports unfavorable to some one's reputation? When is it your duty to do this kind of thing? When should you refrain from doing so? May the same piece of criticism be warranted at one time and unwarranted at another? Is there a "revolt against authority" in America today? If this is true to any extent, what causes it?

Courts try to prevent wrong-doing as well as punish it. A judge may issue an *injunction* commanding a private citizen or an officer to refrain from doing something which he has undertaken or is expected to undertake and which is said to be detrimental to the public interest. If the party who is "enjoined" can show that the act in question is not undesirable, however, the injunction will be "vacated."

When an official fails to perform his duties, a court may issue a *mandamus* instructing him to do so.

238. Protection against the Government. — It is a little surprising to discover how many guarantees are assured to the citizen *against* his own government. Most of these are inherited from old English days when arbitrary rulers were a terror to good works as well as evil, but when we observe how much some people enjoy "a little brief authority," we are satisfied to leave the guarantees where they are. The fact that a person is elected to office by popular vote does not prove that he has no tyrannical instincts.

No person may be tried for a serious crime unless he has been formally indicted by a grand jury (§ 241). An accused person has as much right to command the attendance of persons to give evidence in his behalf as have the authorities who are prosecuting him. Moreover, if the accused cannot afford to hire a lawyer to assist in his defense the court will assign some one to perform that service.

Unfortunately this provision does not always mean as much as it might, because some judges are in the habit of handing over such work to young lawyers who want practice. To remedy any unfairness that might result from such a custom, some states have provided for an officer known as the *public defender*, whose duty is to see that any one accused of crime gets a square deal in the court.

Every accused person is guaranteed a speedy trial in public by a jury from the neighborhood where the crime with which he is charged has been committed. To aid in this direction the famous old English writ of *habeas corpus* may be employed. The attorney or friends of the accused may appeal to the court, which will instruct the sheriff or other person in charge of the accused to bring him before the court for a hearing. Then it will be determined whether he will be let out on bail or tried immediately or some other disposition made of the case. Of course it is not meant that this writ should be used in such a way as to enable a crim-

inal to escape the just consequences of his crime, but it is intended to prevent the keeping of a person in jail for an indefinite period.

Our constitutions provide also that the amount demanded as bail when a person is let out to await trial shall not be unreasonably high. The law assumes that a person is innocent until the jury has been convinced that he is guilty. He cannot be forced to testify in his own trial unless he is willing to do so. If he is convicted, the sentence imposed must not be more serious than the offense warrants, and "cruel and unusual punishments" are specifically forbidden.

Even then, if the case has been tried in one of the lower courts of the state or nation, it is possible to appeal the case to a higher court, in order to make sure that everything has been done in a legal and constitutional manner. In any event no officer may deprive a person of his life, liberty, or property "without due process of law." We are assured privacy in our homes by the restriction that they shall not be searched unless a warrant has been sworn out "on probable cause." Soldiers may not be quartered in homes except in time of war, and then only if proper payment is made. We reserve the right to "keep and bear arms," but for the safety of the community this privilege must be limited to cases of self-defense or some other recognized necessity. We make it clear also that any rights not bestowed on officials are reserved to the people.

The history of most free people is in part a story of struggle against "special privilege" granted by monarchs to their favorites. An echo of this appears in the clause of the fourteenth amendment to the national Constitution which forbids any state to deny to a citizen "the equal protection of the laws," though the amendment was intended for the particular benefit of the negroes. The question arose as to whether the national government was limiting the power of the states by this provision, but the Supreme Court ruled that it simply added to the federal government the power

to act in defense of citizens when a state failed to assure them their obvious rights.

Was the Volstead Act an interference with any kind of liberty guaranteed by the Constitution? What is the relation of Sunday laws to religious liberty? Should we talk most today about what our governments have not the right to do or about what we ought to do for our governments?

If you see another breaking a law what should you do? Are you right in reporting it or is it "sneaky" to do so? Should you protect society as a whole or let one law-breaker get away to do it again?

239. State Courts. — Every state has a fully organized system of courts. We cannot summarize these systems with much accuracy, because the details of organization are so different from state to state. In a large state, city, or county the organization of the courts is necessarily extensive and complicated. Judges in all grades of courts are in most states elected by popular vote. In a few states the judges of the higher court are appointed by the governor or elected by the legislature. Their terms run from two years in Vermont to twenty-one years for Supreme Court judges in Pennsylvania.

Every state has a Supreme Court or Court of Appeals at the head of its judicial system. It meets sometimes at the state capital and sometimes at other places in the state. In matters involving interpretation of the state laws or constitution its decision is final, unless the claim is made that such a decision conflicts with the federal law or Constitution. Then the Supreme Court of the United States can pass final judgment on the matter. Most Supreme Court cases are appeals from lower courts. In New York the Supreme Court is organized in four divisions and is really not "supreme," because the Court of Appeals has still higher authority.

Below the Supreme Court there is in several states a kind of intermediate court which may be called the Superior Court. This also is a court of appeals, and certain specified kinds of cases are handled by it rather than by the Supreme Court.

Every state has a grade of courts called district courts, circuit courts, or county courts, in which almost all of the cases of original

jurisdiction arising under state law are tried. Frequently several counties are included in the jurisdiction of one of these courts, though in very populous counties there may be subdivisions of the court for the county. Frequently where the cases are numerous separate sessions of the court are held for the trial of civil cases and of criminal cases.

The courts of the justice of the peace, magistrate, or alderman have purely local authority and deal with only minor civil suits or



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OLD COURTHOUSE, WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA.

This is a specimen of the old style county buildings, going back to colonial days when there was less to be done than at present. Notice the bulletin board next to the door, on which public announcements were posted.

instances of law-breaking. These same justices, however, frequently give hearings in cases which they cannot try and decide whether to hold the accused for trial in a district, circuit, or county court. In some communities the justice of the peace is popularly called the "squire" and is often a man of considerable importance. He may perform marriages and administer oaths for any legal purpose. In large cities there are frequently separate "traffic courts," "domestic relations courts," and the like.

There are other duties than the trial of civil and criminal cases

that devolve upon judges. Where the amount of business done by the ordinary judge is not excessive, the appointment of guardians for orphans, of administrators for estates, and similar matters, are in his hands. But in many states there is a separate court known as the Probate Court, Orphans' Court, or Surrogate's Court, which deals with this kind of business and nothing else. Sometimes there are separate Chancery courts or Equity courts which deal with cases that involve points not specifically governed by the general law.

The authority of the state courts and of lower courts is therefore very extensive. The number of cases tried in these courts is many times greater than in federal courts. Most crimes are tried here, especially crimes against person or property. Be sure to understand that no cases are taken from state courts to any federal court unless the authority of the federal Constitution or a federal law or treaty is said to be violated. The distinction between the jurisdiction of state and federal courts does not depend upon the seriousness of the matter involved, but upon the constitutional division of powers between state and federal governments.

Inform yourself thoroughly about the organization of the courts of your community, county, and state. Are you likely to get better judges in such courts by appointment or by election? Should the terms of judges be long or short? Are any special qualifications demanded of judges in your state?

240. Making Use of the Courts. — But what is this "due process of law" that is mentioned so often? How do we go about claiming the assistance of the courts in protecting our rights? In all probability the courts are asked to do an unnecessary amount of work. Some people cause cases to be brought against others when there is no just reason for doing so, and other cases are brought to court which could be settled less expensively for both parties by mutual agreement. But there really are occasions when a law-suit is the only means of bringing a dishonest man to terms.

Remember that there are two general kinds of cases in court. *Criminal* cases are those in which a person is accused of breaking a law. *Civil* suits are those in which it is alleged that private rights have been violated. Civil suits may themselves be subdivided into suits at *law* and suits in *equity*. The former deal with acts which the common law recognizes as unjust and for which money damages are asked. Equity cases concern questions involving the performance or non-performance of obligations, such as the duty of a guardian toward his ward, or the harm done to another by the commission of an act which under some circumstances might be within a person's right. Such cases are usually decided by the judge or a special "master" or "referee" appointed by the court to render a decision after taking testimony concerning the case.

The parties to a suit may be either individuals or corporations. The one bringing the suit is called the *plaintiff*, and the one sued, the *defendant*. In very general outline, the steps in the process of a civil suit are somewhat as follows:

(1) *Complaint*. — The plaintiff, generally through his attorney, files with a court official a formal charge against the defendant.

(2) *Summons*. — From the clerk's office is sent to the defendant a notice of the charge that has been filed.

(3) *Answer*. — The defendant, generally through his attorney, files with the clerk a statement of his side of the case. If he offers no reason why the plaintiff's claim should not be granted, the court can at once order such action as will satisfy the plaintiff. If the defendant denies the justice of the claim, the case goes on the court docket for trial.

(4) *Trial*. — Generally a jury of 12, called a *petit jury* or *traverse jury*, must hear the case, though in some states both parties may agree to allow the judge to settle the facts in the case as well as any points of law involved. Witnesses may be heard for either side and questioned by both attorneys. Each attorney delivers a plea for his client and the judge "charges" the jury, if there is a jury, explaining the points of law which they must consider.

(5) *Verdict*. — The jury decides which party is in the right and how much in the way of damages or costs shall be paid by either party. In some states an agreement of three-fourths of the jury is

sufficient for a verdict, but more often a unanimous decision is needed. If the necessary number cannot agree, the case will have to be tried over again before another jury, unless it is settled out of court.

(6) *Judgment*. — If a verdict has been agreed upon, the court issues instructions to have it put into effect. It may, if necessary, command the sale of the defendant's property to make possible the payment of damages.

The defendant, if he loses the case, may *appeal* to a higher court and attempt to show that the law has been improperly interpreted or that there has been some flaw in the proceedings. The higher court then has the right to order the case retried if it thinks justice calls for such action.

A jury for any particular case is chosen from a list of persons summoned to attend a particular session of court. These in turn are usually drawn by lot from a much longer list prepared in advance by jury commissioners or other officers. If a group satisfactory to both sides cannot be secured from the persons regularly summoned, other persons may be called upon. Sometimes the "impaneling" of a jury takes several days, but such delays are much more common in criminal cases.

241. Proceedings against Law-Breakers. — In a criminal case the "state" or the "commonwealth" takes the place of the plaintiff in prosecuting the case. The district attorney or "state's attorney" is responsible for conducting the prosecution. The court often meets under a different name than when trying civil cases, though frequently the same judges preside. The preliminary steps preceding a trial for crime differ considerably from those in a civil suit. In broad outline the process of a criminal case is as follows:

(1) *Arrest*. — An arrest is made in either of two ways: first by an officer who saw the crime committed or had reasonable suspicion as to who committed it; second, by an officer holding a *warrant* issued upon information tending to show that a certain person was guilty of a crime.

(2) *Hearing*. — The accused is brought before a magistrate or justice of the peace. If the crime is not a serious one, the accused is very likely tried at once. If, however, the crime is beyond the magistrate's jurisdiction, he hears the charges against the accused.

If the evidence indicates a possibility of guilt, the accused is held for grand jury. Until the court meets, he may be released if his friends will pledge a certain amount as *bail*, which will be forfeited if he fails to appear at the proper time. Bail is seldom allowed, however, in murder cases.

(3) *Grand jury*. — The prosecuting attorney draws up a "bill of indictment," a written document stating the charge. This is presented to the grand jury, and testimony given to show the guilt of the accused. The grand jury in most states is composed of twenty-



A MODERATE SIZED COURT ROOM.

See if you can pick out the judge's bench, the jury box, the clerk's desk, the attorneys' tables, and the seats for witnesses and spectators.

three persons, selected for each session of the criminal court in about the same way that persons are summoned for service on petit juries. If the required number of grand jurors (varying in different states) think there is sufficient evidence to warrant a court trial, the foreman writes across the face of the indictment the words: "A true bill," and the indicted person must appear for trial. The jury may "ignore the bill" if they think the case does not deserve trial.

(4) *Trial*. — The accused appears in court in custody of the sheriff or some other officer, and pleads "guilty" or "not guilty." If

he pleads "not guilty" he must stand trial by a petit jury of twelve. The process of trial is very similar to that in a civil suit.

(5) *Verdict*. — A verdict must be unanimous. Usually the jury's consideration is limited to the question of whether, on the basis of the evidence presented, the accused is guilty. If the prisoner is judged not guilty, he is freed, and may not be tried again on the same charge. If the jury cannot agree, the case is either dropped or preparations made for a new trial before a different jury.

(6) *Sentence*. — If the verdict is "guilty," the judge imposes the sentence within the limits fixed by the laws of the state. Juries sometimes recommend the prisoner "to the mercy of the court," if they believe that the accused is guilty but that there were some "extenuating circumstances." If the punishment is a fine, the defendant must pay promptly or permit his property to be sold in order to collect the amount. If the penalty is imprisonment, it will begin as soon as possible.

The defendant, may, however, appeal to a higher court if he believes the case has been improperly tried. In this circumstance he may be let out under bonds until the higher court passes on his appeal. That court may either affirm the decision of the lower court or order a new trial.

How many kinds of cases are there in which the accused is not or ought not to be let out on bail? Of what use is a grand jury indictment? Would putting murderers to death by chloroform be a cruel and unusual punishment?

Investigate carefully the details of the process of civil and criminal cases in your state, finding out particularly whether it differs at any point from that described here.

242. The Courts of the United States. — Remember that our federal courts have no organic connection whatever with the state courts. The authors of the Constitution tried to make the judicial department as independent as possible, so that it might be wholly free from any other influence than a desire to assure justice. Most presidents have been careful in selecting men to serve as judges and the courts have well maintained the dignity of the nation. Lower judges, the President, Congress, and the public usually accept the word of the Supreme Court as final. Indeed, any other course than this would be fatal to orderly government.

FACTS ABOUT THE FEDERAL COURTS

BASES\	Supreme Court required by Constitution. Other courts organized by act of Congress		
TERM OF JUDGES	Appointed by President for "good behavior"		
JURISDICTION IN GENERAL	Removed only by impeachment proceedings		
	1. All cases arising under federal Constitution or laws		
	2. Cases relating to foreign nations or their representatives		
	3. Cases of interstate character, except civil suits involving not over \$3000, or suits by citizen against state		
GRADES	DISTRICT	CIRCUIT	SUPREME
JUDGES' SALARY	\$10,000	\$12,500	\$20,000
NUMBER			(\$20,500, Chief Justice)
	At least 1 court in each state.	States grouped in 9 circuits	1 Chief Justice
	At least 1 judge in each court.	3 to 5 judges in each circuit	8 Associate Justices
	Over 100 district judges		
SPECIAL FUNCTIONS	Original jurisdiction in all federal cases except those reserved for Supreme Court	Appellate jurisdiction in cases tried in District Courts. Final authority in many cases not requiring interpretation of laws	Final authority in cases involving interpretation of laws or Constitution. Original jurisdiction when a state is a party to a case or when foreign representatives are involved
PROCESS	Similar to county or district courts in states. Grand and petit juries. District attorney, marshal, and commissioner in each district	Pleas by attorneys before judges	Pleas by attorneys before justices. Majority may render decision
SPECIAL COURTS	The <i>Court of Claims</i> considers claims for money damages from the United States government. It has no power to order the payment of money, but if it believes that the claim is just it will so decide and the claimant may then ask an appropriation from Congress. The <i>Court of Customs Appeals</i> hears the questions arising over the application of the tariff laws of the country. There are 5 judges in each court.		

Do you think the money compensation for federal judges is high enough to attract the most capable men? Are there any other considerations than salary that would induce a man of ability to accept an appointment as a federal judge? What mental and moral qualities ought a judge to possess in a high degree? Judges may retire on full pay at the age of 70. Do you suppose the ordinary judge would care to do so?

If the members of an ordinary jury are required to render a unanimous verdict, why is the Supreme Court allowed to render a verdict by a majority vote? Mention some cases in American history in which the Supreme Court's decision was unpopular with a certain element of the people. Does a federal judge have the right to belong to a political party? If a president should refuse to be bound by the Supreme Court's decision, could he be punished?

243. Courts and the Laws. — Courts are judicial bodies, not legislative, yet the attitude of the courts toward a law determines its effectiveness. If judges will not impose the



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THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Seated, left to right: Justices James Clark McReynolds, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Chief Justice William Howard Taft, Justices Willis Van Devanter, and Louis Dembitz Brandeis. Standing, left to right: Justices Edward Terry Sanford, George Sutherland, Pierce Butler, and Harlan Fiske Stone.

necessary penalties upon persistent violators, they virtually invite people to disregard the law. If a question arises about the meaning of a phrase or clause in the law, officials do not go to the original author of the provision and ask him what he meant, but the courts decide the point at issue. They sometimes apply "the rule of reason" in such cases, apparently attempting to determine what the author ought to have meant, whether he actually did say just that or not.

The power possessed by our high courts in state and nation is possessed by no other courts in the world to the same extent. If the English Parliament passes a law, it is constitutional. If the corresponding body in France enacts a law, the courts must accept it. In this country, however, if Congress passes a law and the Supreme Court, as it has done on a number of occasions, declares the law to be contrary to the Constitution, the situation is just the same as if the law had never been passed. The judges of course have no right to base their decision on their opinion of the wisdom of a law. Their only concern is whether it is in accordance with the Constitution. They do not have a presidential "veto."

There was a time when judges seemed to be guided in their decisions solely by precedent, and by a rigid adherence to hair-splitting technicalities. This attitude made almost impossible the adaptation of laws to new needs, and aroused popular hostility toward the courts as "strongholds of reaction." It led to the adoption of the recall (§ 264) of judges by popular vote in several states, and the advocacy by Roosevelt and some others of the proposition known as the "recall of judicial decisions." This did not mean, as some supposed, that the people should have the right by popular vote to set aside a court's verdict, but that when a judge ruled that a law was unconstitutional the people might overrule that interpretation.

For at least two reasons we do not hear much now about this proposition. First: while in the long run democracies will take the right side of most questions, we cannot be sure that any particular election or vote will be the result of sound judgment rather than emotion or misguided sentiment. Besides, our highest courts have shown an increasing tendency to be sensible and liberal in interpreting constitutions, rather than to maintain that the light of 1789 is the light by which we are to be always guided in 1925. They often assume that the legislature acted with the be-

lief that a law passed by them was constitutional and desirable, and put the burden of proof that it is not so on the critics of the law. Sometimes it may be a court's duty to declare a law unconstitutional. Then the remedy is not to take a popular vote and say that the law is all right, but to amend the Constitution so that there can be no question of the people's legal right to do the things that they feel their welfare requires. This was actually done in the case of the income tax.

One custom of most of our courts in this connection seems decidedly awkward, from the viewpoint of an outsider. No federal court and few state courts will pass an opinion on the constitutionality or meaning of a law until a particular case is brought before them. What does this mean? That no matter how much question there may be of the constitutionality of a law, the machinery for putting it into operation must be started, persons brought before the court for disregarding the law, the whole process of trial completed and a conviction secured, if it is a criminal case, before the courts will render any opinion as to whether the law in question violates the Constitution. How much uncertainty and sometimes unavailing activity would be avoided if the Supreme Court would pass upon the principles involved before the law was finally enacted!

244. The Personal Element in the Courts.—Fortunately or unfortunately, the courts are operated by human beings, and we need not hope that machine-like precision will ever be fully developed. Sometimes, indeed, mercy rather than abstract justice is desirable, but human weaknesses should be removed from court action as far as possible. The sentimental jury which sets a man or woman free when everybody knows he or she committed a crime does much harm.

“Important as it is that the people get justice, it is still more important that the people feel that they get justice.”

People sometimes get disgusted with the whole jury system, even though we have always been taught that it is one of the foundations of our liberties. Citizens of intelligence and experience frequently try to escape serving on juries, with the result that the twelve people who sit in the jury box sometimes look as if they were chosen because they knew nothing about anything rather than because they had formed no opinion about a particular case.

To correct this situation it has been proposed to abolish the jury and let all cases be decided by the judge, who may be an intelligent, thoughtful man. In some states the two parties in civil suits may agree to have the judge decide the case without reference to a jury. Yet if a judge made all decisions, in criminal cases, the criticism might be offered that he had arbitrary power, and that one man alone could decide the fate of another. Judges are human, too, and can make mistakes. Even with them the influence of money or political friendship sometimes enables people to escape their just deserts. It is therefore particularly important to select as judges men who cannot be swerved from the right by special influences of any kind.

Not to require a unanimous decision in some jury cases would prevent the holding up of a verdict by one or two stupid, stubborn, or corrupt individuals. The election of juries would not assure any better results. Perhaps the real remedy is to develop such a public spirit on the part of intelligent citizens that they will be willing to make whatever sacrifice is necessary to permit them to take their turn at jury service.

If you were on trial for a crime, would you prefer to have the case decided by a judge or a jury? Why should not an accused person be required to testify in his own case? Will the introduction of women into jury service make conditions any better? Disregarding the effect upon baseball of Judge Landis's accepting the position of baseball "dictator," do you think that judges ought to occupy such positions? Can courts and policemen be lawless?

Does a lawyer have a moral right to defend a person whom he believes to be guilty of wrong-doing? Why do juries sometimes fail to convict people about whom there is no question of guilt? To what extent should sentiment enter into the consideration of the jury? Does a woman deserve any more sympathy than a man if she is a criminal?

245. Do Our Courts Render the Service That They Should?—Most of the judges in American courts have been men whose intentions were good and whose intelligence was average or superior. Yet a great many people believe that American courts are inefficient. There is undoubtedly a great deal of formality and waste of time that should be avoided. Lawyers are allowed to have cases postponed on foolish pretexts and days are consumed in wrangling over little points. Dozens of cases are decided on technical details of procedure rather than on the right and wrong of the case itself. There is much following of precedent, and an amount of "red tape" which to an outsider seems inexcusable.

When a person feels sure that he will be punished if he breaks the law he is likely to think some little time before he breaks it, but if he gets the notion that a skillful lawyer will get him free, he will be much more likely to consider his own advantage than his duty under the law. The slowness with which cases move in our courts contributes to the lack of respect for the laws, because by the time many cases are brought up for trial the immediate interest of the case has disappeared and people in general have forgotten about that case of law-breaking. Then even if punishment is administered, much of the effect of it is lost by reason of the delay.

The reason for delay in the courts may be that judges are too few or that they are lazy. It is not at all uncommon in the national courts for a case not to be tried until a year or more after it has been entered. We cannot truthfully call that businesslike. If our law-makers have not pro-

vided enough judges, that much of the blame rests upon them. Usually, however, Congress is ready enough to create new positions. It provided for about 20 additional judges in 1922.

We hear the assertion, too, that justice is far from free and even-handed. The rich man can hire skillful lawyers to defend him, who will take advantage of every possible legal technicality to have the case set aside, and to tire out or cause expense to the opposing party. Some judges seem to be so completely devoted to the protection of the rights of property that they look at everything from the wealthy man's point of view. The poor man cannot get bail if he is accused of crime, or afford to hire a lawyer to conduct a suit in court.

As a remedy for this particular difficulty, several cities have established courts of small claims. In these, without fees or "red tape," any person may present a case before a judge, who has power to take immediate action. Undoubtedly the evil which this is intended to remedy is a very real one. Altogether too often the magistrates who are appointed in municipal courts are cheap politicians with no knowledge of law, no judgment, and no sense of right. A foreigner who gets into their hands sees no difference between American "justice" and the Russian brand. If this is to be a government "for the people," the poor as well as the rich should be able to get justice done. Perhaps the reform of our judicial system needs to begin at the bottom.

Is it advisable for a man to handle his own case in court rather than to hire a lawyer? What is to be done if it takes all his regular earnings to support his family? What kind of person should be a police magistrate or municipal judge?

∴ The courts are a vital part of free government, for through them the people's rights are secured, if anywhere. They have a right to demand respect and should maintain a high standard of dignity and complete impartiality. Simplicity of organization,

502 Problems of American Democracy

ready access by the people, the administration of real justice and swift justice, are ideals of judicial service that should be everywhere attained.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Supreme Court Today.

Resolved, that federal judges should be chosen by popular vote.

The Organization of Our State Judicial Department.

Our Local Courts and Magistrates.

The Process of a Civil Suit.

The Process of a Criminal Case.

Desirable Reforms in Court Proceedings.

Resolved, that Roosevelt's proposal for reviewing judicial decisions should be adopted by the states.

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XXII. GOVERNING LOCAL COMMUNITIES CAPABLY

A great part of the activities which our Constitution reserves to the states or the people are actually performed through our local governments. What, then, is the best form of organization for them that they may secure the best results?

246. Problems Right at Home.—We do not need to go far away to find problems of democracy. They are knocking at our doors. The protection of our homes, our business, and our leisure, the means of education, the care of our health, the maintenance of highways, sewers, street lights, and water systems, the care of the rich and the poor, the "stranger within our gates," housing, zoning, slums—indeed, is there much that comes into our daily lives, except the post office and our money system, that is not connected in some way with the work of local governments?

Washington is too far away. It could not possibly look out for the details of these matters. Harrisburg, or Trenton, or Columbus, or Sacramento may make laws for us, but men and women who live right among us must administer them if they are administered at all in normal times. To subdivide a state is necessary in furnishing convenient machinery for punishing law-breakers, collecting taxes, and doing many other things for which the state is responsible. Moreover, it is well that the responsibility of government should rest in some degree as closely as possible to the people themselves. In a democracy too much authority ought not to be turned over to distant officials.

Every state is divided into *counties*, except that in Louisiana they are called *parishes*. They are usually formed by act of the legislature, although in some states the constitution specifies area and population requirements for new

counties. If a county is to be formed of part of another, a popular vote is usually taken, and if a majority of the people favor the division, it is made.

In many states the counties are subdivided into *townships* or *towns*. A thickly populated section may become a *borough*, *village*, or *city*. Cities usually remain a part of the county, although St. Louis, Baltimore, and the cities of Virginia are entirely independent of the county. New York City is unique in that it comprises five counties. Philadelphia city and Philadelphia county occupy the same area.

Who ought to decide about the form of government of local communities? Most states prescribe a definite form for each type of community. The legislature plans for all the officers, their duties, terms, and perhaps even their salaries. All the voters can do is choose people to fill the places which the legislature permits them to fill. Many students of public affairs advocate what they call "home rule"; that is, letting the people of a community choose, within certain limits, their own form of local government. This might give the people a greater interest in their government, and the type or plan that a community chose for itself would probably fit the needs of the people.

Other political "experts" declare that the people are not capable of exercising this power wisely and that the activities of a local government need to be closely supervised by the state, lest it may do something to harm itself or its neighbors. But the reply is suggested that the average state legislature would not do much better for them than they could do for themselves. In states which have a well developed state political machine, movements for local home rule are not in favor with the political leaders.

In many states the various forms of local government, especially cities, are classified in three or more groups according to population. Then a special form of government is required for all communities of a certain class. In other states several types of local government are recognized by

law, and a community is allowed to decide for itself which type it prefers. Ohio allows its cities almost complete freedom to select their own form of government, and New York gives them, except New York City, a wide range of choice. Pennsylvania gives its cities no choice at all, except as the state legislature cares to listen to their wishes. States like Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania feel that their largest cities — Boston, New York, and Philadelphia — are of such importance to the whole state that the legislature must keep them under close control.

247. Systems of Local Government. — But why do we have so many kinds of government? When the New England colonists made their first settlements they kept rather near one another in groups or villages, for protection, for religious reasons, and because the community spirit was strong among them. So the village or the *town* was the center of interest. As the population grew, the town still remained of the greatest importance.

In the South, on the other hand, the development of great plantations tended to spread the people over a considerable area. So when its governments were organized the greatest stress was laid on the *county* as the center of activity. Today, while New England has the counties and the South parishes or "hundreds," the old political centers of interest still dominate.

In the middle colonies, where geography showed some of the features of both the North and South, both the town and the county developed importance as subdivisions of the state. So three types of local government were produced — the town system, the county system and the county-township or mixed system.

These various types were carried into the West by the pioneers from various parts of the Union, and they moved frequently along parallels of latitude. Michigan and Wisconsin, for example, have the town system; Ohio, Indiana,

and Kansas have the mixed system, and the southwestern states have the county system. In some states both systems exist in different portions, and the people of a county themselves decide what system of local government they will have.

Can you think of any other features of our political organization for which geography or industry is largely responsible?

248. The County.—The state's laws are usually administered through the county. The construction and



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COURTHOUSE, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK.

In this building is done the public business for the county in which this large city is situated.

care of highways, the supervision of schools, the care of the poor and insane, and particularly the work of the courts, are wholly or partly administered through the county. In many states each county has its courthouse and jail, and perhaps other buildings for the conduct of public business. The community where they are situated is called

the county seat. It is usually near the center of a county, but it is frequently not so large or important today as it probably expected at one time to be.

The most important officers of the county in many states are the county *commissioners* or *supervisors*. They have general charge of the business of the county, fix the tax rate, and may have many other duties. They come the nearest of any county officials to being a legislative body. The *sheriff* keeps order and has various duties as a kind of enforcement officer for the courts. The *treasurer* has charge of the county money, and the *controller* or *auditors* inspect the accounts of county officers. Other officers may include a *recorder of deeds*, who copies and files deeds, mortgages, and other legal papers, a *district attorney* or *state's attorney*, to prosecute law-breakers, a *superintendent of schools* or *commissioner of education*, *directors of the poor* or *of charities*, and the like. These are usually elected by popular vote, and the terms of office are most frequently two or four years.

It is almost impossible to expect businesslike government to result from the choice of so many officials by popular vote. In fact, the county has been called the jungle of American politics because of the confusion so often existing in its administration. One proposed remedy is the reduction of the number of elected officers, and the installation of a *county manager*, on the principle described for city governments in Section 254. Maryland counties have virtually a commission form of government, with from 3 to 5 elected officials possessing practically all legislative and executive power. They have the privilege of adopting a county manager system if they wish.

There is not much use in attempting to give here a complete list of county officers, for they differ much from state to state. Be sure you learn not only what they are in your state, but who they are and what they do.

249. The Town or Township.—The earliest and simplest type of local government is the town or township. In several states this government has almost entire charge of such activities as public schools, road construction, tax collection, and the like. Brookline town in Massachusetts, and Lower Merion township in Pennsylvania are among the richest communities in the country per capita.

The relation of the town or township to the county depends upon the state. In New England the county has very little authority over the town, while in many states the township is simply a division of the county. The even size and regular shape of the "Congressional township" in the West, which may also be the basis of local government, are in sharp contrast with the irregular townships of the East.

The New England *town* is unique in its nature. It means not a group of people, but a political organization. The distinguishing feature of the New England town is the *town meeting*. It is usually held in the spring, and all voters may attend. It concerns itself with a great many things of interest to the town, such as fixing the tax rate, erecting schools, keeping the streets in condition, and even deciding whether to supply free band concerts. It is difficult for large communities to hold a town meeting which really means anything. In a great many large towns they still go through the motions of having it, though if all the voters came the meeting would have to be held out in the park.

There are many town officers. Perhaps the most important are the *selectmen*, who look after the town's business in general and act in its name. Others are the *assessors*, *justices of the peace*, *constables*, *auditors*, *school directors*, *road commissioners*, *fence viewers*, *pound keepers*, ad finem and ad infinitum. In New England, all town officers have short terms, very frequently one year.

In other states, the most important officers of the towns or townships are *supervisors*. In New York the duties of the supervisor correspond somewhat to those of the selectmen, and the supervisor of each town is a member of the county board, which has the general oversight of county affairs. In a Pennsylvania township the chief duty of the two supervisors is the care of the roads. There are also the usual officials — *treasurer*, *assessors*, *auditors*, *constables*, *tax collectors*, *justices of the peace*, and *school directors*.

In states outside of New England townships and towns do not have the town meeting or give it little to do except elect officers. Often some important township officers have both legislative and executive powers. These officers are usually elected for longer terms than those of New England towns.

If you live in a town or township be sure to familiarize yourself thoroughly with its officials and their duties. Does it seem sensible for Brookline, Massachusetts, with over 30,000 people, to remain a town? Why do you suppose it does so?

250. Boroughs and Villages. — Sometimes a certain section of a town or a township becomes more thickly populated than the other parts, or acquires community interests of its own. It may want a number of improvements such as paved streets, street lighting, better schools, or something of the sort. Since it might cost too much to make these improvements over the entire township, the community is organized as a *borough* or an *incorporated village*. The establishment of such a government must usually have the approval of the majority of the voters or property owners. A Pennsylvania borough becomes independent of the township of which it formerly was a part. A New York village is established to meet certain needs, but is still politically a part of the township.

Boroughs and villages usually elect a body known as a *council* or a *board of trustees*, who are the legislators. The Pennsylvania borough has an executive officer known as the *chief burgess*. The New York village has a *president*. There are other officers similar to those of the township. Boroughs may develop into cities, but a great many of them choose to retain their borough organization rather than to undertake the extra expense of city government.

If you live under a borough or village government, study it thoroughly.

251. The Growth of American Cities. — Cities, even big cities, are not new. They are as old as civilization. We all know of Babylon, Nineveh, Rome. Cities have had special problems as far back as we know them — planning, housing, government, wealth, and poverty. Now more than half of the total population of our country is found in urban communities. True, many of these are only villages and offer no such problems as those of Chicago, Cleveland, or New York. But the big cities are steadily growing bigger and moderate-sized towns are becoming big.

Two tendencies are at work to bring about the growth of cities. One of them is *specialization*, which causes the investment of great amounts of capital and the bringing

together of a large number of laborers into a place where some industry can be carried on with some particular advantage. Foreigners especially show a tendency to stay in cities because work is available. The other tendency is *concentration*. By this term we do not mean any particular emphasis upon line of activity so much as the centralization at one point of all the financial interests connected



A FAMOUS WESTERN CENTER OF TRADE.

This is Denver, Colorado, the capital of the state, and the business center for the Rocky Mountain district. In 1850 there was not a house here.

with some particular section. Trade centers are inevitable in every distinct area within a nation.

We have already referred to the reasons why communities become famous through specialization (§ 103). No city becomes a first-rank community, however, which devotes itself solely to one occupation. Not even Pittsburgh is an exception to this statement, for while people outside of Pittsburgh know it mainly because of its reputation for steel, smokiness, and the 57 varieties of

pickles and preserves, yet not over half of its total output is connected with the things that make the city famous.

Seaports which are centers for large areas reaching inward and upward inevitably become centers for the entire region which they trade upon. Boston for New England, New York for its own state and even for the whole country, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, and lake ports such as Buffalo and Cleveland, are centers of trade for thousands of square miles of territory which feed them. New Orleans, while it probably will never be a city of enormous population, has for generations been the center of commerce for the Mississippi Valley, especially the southern portion of it.

Some cities just naturally grow up as the center of business for a distinct geographical or industrial area. St. Louis for many years was the center of the entire southwest of the United States. Recently Atlanta has taken a promising place in the South Atlantic states. Denver is the center for the Rocky Mountain district. Los Angeles in the far southwest has added the attractions of a wonderful climate to the inevitable need of that region for some city as a business center. Minneapolis is favorably suited with reference to great wheat fields, and had the water power on which its milling interests were first founded. Just as England has centered its interests in London and France in Paris, so in this country New York has become the capital of the nation in all respects except the matter of government. Washington would never have existed if it had not been deliberately picked out as the headquarters of the nation's government.

Will the adoption of the 18th Amendment be likely to ruin Milwaukee? What is likely to be the effect of the Panama Canal on any cities of the United States? Will Washington ever become a great industrial city? Find from the census list the names of any other cities over 100,000 population whose growth you can explain. Did the railroad make your community possible? What effect has it had upon the growth of your town?

Sometimes it seems as if a city grows too fast for its own good. With so many people working in such small space, in order to live in walking distance of their work, they crowd into tenements and shacks not fit for human habitation. Then we have a slum district, with all its possibilities of danger to health, morals, and prosperity. But suppose the workers do get wages enough to pay car fare. Can we find

homes for them within a distance which can be covered in the time they can afford to spend in traveling? North-eastern New Jersey has been characterized as a great bedroom for people whose business interests are in New York. Every large city calls upon numerous suburban towns to keep its workers when they are away from their places of business.

The bigger a city is, the greater its dependence upon the country outside its limits. Its food supplies must be raised hundreds or thousands of miles away. Its milk is brought in from long distances. If the railroad employees were to go on a strike the city might experience fearful suffering. And for these same food supplies the people must depend upon men whose business profits come from dealing in the things that keep men, women, and children alive. The commission merchant and the wholesale grocer who buy the food supplies for a large city have its life in their hands. Yet dependence is not entirely one-sided. Manufacturing for the country is done in the city, and many of the products of the farm are marketed or made ready for market in the cities.

252. City Politics. — Politically cities are vitally important. Often they are progressive and take more kindly than rural districts to new ideas. In national and state elections they are the center of activity of political organizations. The vote of Boston or of New York City often favors a different party from that of the rest of the state, but the size of the majority in those cities may determine how the state as a whole will go.

One of the best known statements of Mr. Bryce, who though an Englishman has been one of the fairest and most observing witnesses of American life, is this: "The government of American cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." These cities have been cited again and again as examples of what government ought not to be.

Party machines are perhaps stronger in cities than anywhere else. The foreign-born voters can be easily swayed by demagogues and sensational newspapers. Election frauds and all kinds of political tricks have been endured by the people for years.

Management of city affairs has been inefficient, to state it mildly. Graft and extravagance are far from unknown. Contracts for construction of public works have been awarded to people who had a "pull," regardless of their efficiency. Such things have cost the people of the cities millions of dollars which ought to have been spent for some good purpose.

The granting and control of franchises has been closely linked with many city political scandals. People wishing a franchise have bribed councilmen to vote for it. Street railway and light companies have gone directly into local



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politics and have worked for the election of mayors and councilmen who would be friendly to them. In fact, if we could take out of the history of cities the tale of their relation to gas and electric companies, street railway companies, and the construction of streets and public buildings, we should get rid of most of the dirty part of the story and most of the big cases of dishonesty.

Many people throw up their hands in despair at the evils of city government. Others are indifferent to it. And still others find their opportunity in it. Many want to

improve conditions, but ask "Can it be done?" Yes, if good citizens regardless of party will get together and stick together to elect good men to office, and to demand the right service from officials. Only thus can even the notorious evils be removed.

Has your city been afflicted with public utility scandals? If so, how did they turn out? Are you doing better now? What is the relation of your government to your public utilities?

253. Typical City Governments. — When cities were first formed, they were usually given a *mayor* and a legislative body composed of two parts, just because the state had a governor and two houses in the legislature. The two parts of the city legislature were known either as the *aldermen* and the *council* or the *select council* and *common council*. As time went on, however, the tendency was to reduce the membership of these bodies and to have one *council* instead of two.

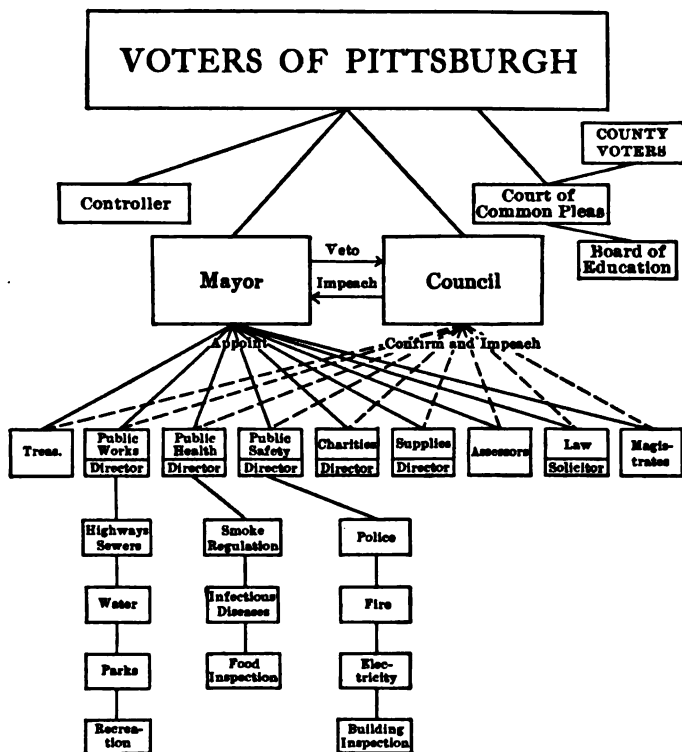
Today, a majority of the cities of the United States still have the mayor and council system. This plan is based on the check and balance idea that prevails in both the state and the national government. The mayor may be elected for one, two, or four years, as may the council, according to the laws of the state. The mayor's principal duties are to enforce city ordinances, to act on ordinances passed by the council, and to appoint officials.

Besides the mayor as chief executive official, large cities need a great many other administrative officials. These are usually organized in departments. Under some name and some form the following departments are to be found in practically all cities: a department of *Public Works*, to take care of streets and highways, sewers, water, and the like; a department of *Public Safety*, under which are the policemen and firemen; a department of *Health*, whose name suggests its duties; a department of *Charities*, and perhaps a department of *Supplies* to buy the things the city needs. There are also other officers such as the *treasurer*, *controller*, *solicitor* and the like. Many of the departments have numerous subordinate bureaus and officials.

The judicial department of cities consists of *magistrates*, *judges*, or *aldermen*. They preside over cases involving city ordinances,

and give hearings in cases of crimes against state law, deciding whether or not the offender shall be held for trial. This branch of the city government unfortunately has been looked upon as less important than the others, and here a great many of the evils and

MAYOR—COUNCIL



A MAYOR-AND-COUNCIL CITY.

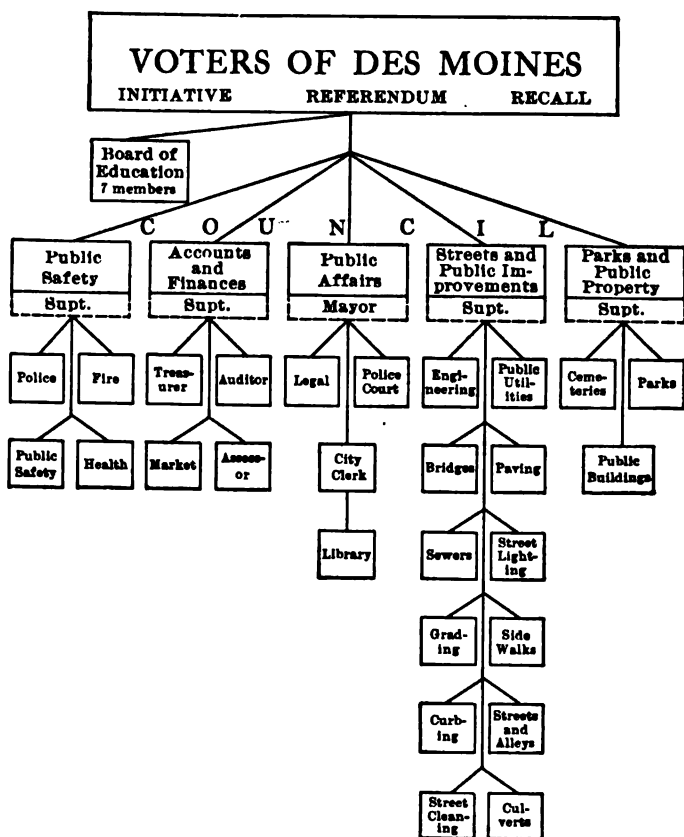
This is far less complex than the organization of many such city governments. Even at that, it is much different from the comparative simplicity of organization of the types shown on pages 516 and 518.

abuses of city government may be seen. Too many cheap politicians get into the local courts and by their incompetency and dishonesty disgrace themselves and the city. Many, especially foreigners, get

scant justice here, while political friends of the magistrate do as they please. And thus Bolshevists are made. The city magistrate ought to be as fine a man as can be found in the city.

254. Making City Government Better. — The check and balance system in city government has often been a farce. Sometimes its only results have been to enable mayor and

COMMISSION



CITY GOVERNMENT UNDER THE COMMISSION FORM.

council to "pass the buck" from one to the other when things went wrong, and to cause deadlocks when they honestly disagreed. But can we do otherwise? A popular remedy today is to centralize power in the hands of fewer people, who can be watched, and who cannot escape responsibility.

A form of city government which has now been adopted in several hundreds of the cities of the country is the *commission* system. The people elect a small commission of perhaps five members. Each member is at the head of an administrative department and collectively they enact the city ordinances. They are directly responsible for everything that is done. Having both legislative and executive authority there can be no "passing the buck," though there is still the possibility of disagreement among the members of the commission.

Some cities go still further in this matter of centralization. The people elect a council or commission which chooses one man to be the *city manager*. He assumes entire charge of the work of administration and is given as much power as he needs to get the best results. A number of cities have adopted this plan, including Cleveland, but Dayton is the most famous example, as it was the first large city to try it.

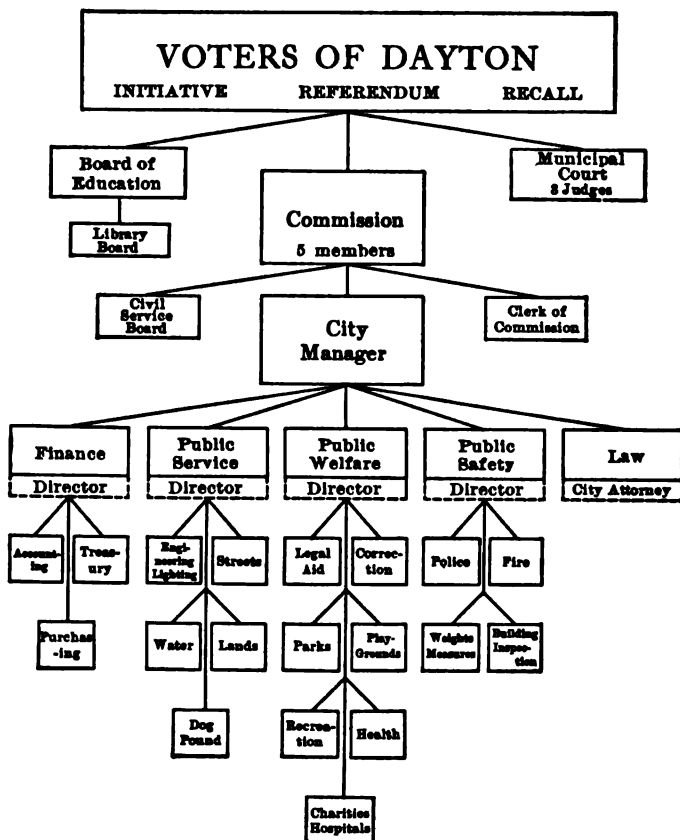
The advantage of this plan is that it gives one man all the administrative responsibility. The people know whom to blame when things go wrong and who deserves the credit when the city's business is well done. The Manager appoints a number of directors, who in turn have the necessary bureaus and officials under their charge.

The centralization of the commission and commission manager system promotes efficiency, economy, and honesty. Few places which have adopted them wish to go back to the old plan of divided authority. How well they will work in very large cities can be told only when one of them tries it, but one can hardly believe a city manager *could* make a

worse mess of administration than many of these cities have suffered.

Is the experience of Galveston or Dayton a sufficient warrant for New York to adopt their system of government? Would, in

CITY MANAGER



CITY-MANAGER GOVERNMENT.

Compare this, for businesslike arrangement, with the diagram on page 279. and with the plans of city government on pages 515 and 516.

your opinion, the adoption of the commission or city manager plan improve your local government? Or if you have either, how has it worked? Be thoroughly familiar with your own community's plan of government. How far did your community have any voice in deciding its form of government? What legal process is necessary in setting up such a government as yours, and what would be necessary to change it to some other form? Is it any concern of your state legislature what form of government your community has? What is the plan of classifying communities in your state?

∴ The functions of local governments are far-reaching and important, and the problems of administration, particularly in cities, very difficult. The best solution for this situation appears to be the centralization of responsibility under such conditions that the people's interest in their own immediate affairs is kept active. The form of government should be adjusted to meet the needs of each community.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Political Subdivisions of Our State.

The History of Our County.

The History of Our Town.

Resolved, that each county should have the right to adopt by referendum vote its own form of local government.

The Government of our County.

Local Government in Our State in Divisions Smaller than Counties.

The Congressional Township.

The History of Our City.

The City of New York.

The Cities of Our State.

The Government of Our State.

The Government of Our City.

Commission Government in Galveston and Des Moines.

City Manager Government in Dayton.

Resolved, that every city with less than 500,000 people should adopt the city manager form of government.

Resolved, that our city should adopt the commission (or city manager) form of government.

Resolved, that a city should be allowed to determine for itself its form of government.

The Ten Largest Cities of the United States.

REFERENCE READINGS

Bryce—American Commonwealth, Chapters 48-52, 88, 89.

Tufts—The Real Business of Living, Chapters 29, 30.

Reed—Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 15-18, 39.

Munro—Government of the United States, Chapters 37-43.

James—Local Government in the United States.

Beard—American City Government, Chapters 1-4.

Magruder—American Government, Chapters 23, 24.

Beard—American Government and Politics, Chapters 27-29.

Hart—Actual Government, Chapters 10-12.

Lessons in Community and National Life, A-4, A-24, B-24, C-25.

Ellwood—Sociology and Modern Social Problems, Chapter 12.

XXIII. DISCOVERING THE PEOPLE'S WILL

We call our government a representative democracy, a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." But how many of us do or should have a voice in determining the government's policies? Through what agencies do we make our wishes known? What are the methods provided by our Constitution and laws to enable "the people" to express their wishes in regard to the choice of officials or anything else?

255. Who Are the People?—We are a democracy in the sense that the people are sovereign—that is, supreme power rests with them and nowhere else, to determine their form of government and the officials who shall rule them. But "the people" who express this determination never has meant all the people. Our national Constitution was drawn up at a time when only a very few people could vote, but its makers realized that the number of voters might eventually be much greater. Some of them shuddered at the possibility, but they thought that the "masses" could not do a great deal of harm if the actual government was done by representatives.

We can readily sympathize with the motives of those who believe that even in a democracy only those should vote who know enough to vote intelligently. Yet how and where shall we draw the line so that we may as far as possible be governed wisely, and at the same time not become an aristocracy in fact? The contest over "equal suffrage" between black and white and between men and women is now history, as far as the Constitution of the United States can make it so. Yet the national Constitution does not specify any qualifications which a person *must* have in order to vote. Amendments XV and XIX declare that the

vote must not be denied because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," or sex; but outside of these limitations, the matter is left entirely to the states.¹ For this reason, the qualifications vary greatly.

One qualification is universal: every voter must be twenty-one years of age. All the states now require a voter to be a United States citizen, although until recently some permitted a person to vote who had declared his intention of becoming a citizen. There is usually a residence requirement for the state, the county, or the voting district, and some states require the payment of some sort of tax. Property ownership used to be required, but nowhere now is it an essential qualification for all voters. A few states require a person to be able to read and write, or to understand either the state or the national Constitution. In large cities personal registration of voters is required in advance of elections, to prevent "padding" the voting lists, "repeating," and other frauds, which are less probable in small towns, where everybody knows everybody else.

Do we have a real democracy if intelligent and law-abiding men and women fail to do their duty by voting at every election on all questions concerning public interest? What are the qualifications for voting in your state? What mental and moral qualities are desirable in a voter which could not well be set down in law? Do women vote as their husbands do? Should they? High school and college students would vote at least as intelligently as older voters, and could even more easily be made acquainted with the issues of a campaign. Why not let them vote? Will women's voting make government better? If so, in what respects?

256. The People Speaking through Parties.—If you wished to induce people to adopt a policy in which you believed, would you go about it by "buttonholing" every-

¹ A clause in the 14th Amendment threatens the reduction of representation in Congress from states that deny men the right to vote for any reason except "participation in rebellion or other crime," but Congress has never dared to apply the penalty.

body whom you could see? Perhaps, but if you were sensible you would try also to find others who have ideas like yours and form an organization. This is the fundamental principle upon which political parties are formed. A *political party* is a group of people who hold similar political opinions, and who organize to make their principles the policy of the government. All the people who belong to a



International.

NOTIFYING GOVERNOR COX.

This enormous crowd had assembled for the ceremonies attending the notification of the Ohio governor of his nomination for the presidency. Speeches delivered on such occasions are often expected to sound the "key-note" for a campaign.

party do not have exactly the same ideas, but they have at least some things in common. And when the party draws up its *platform* — the statement of the principles it holds and the policies for which it stands — the discussion of the various topics helps others to discover what they really believe. Parties help to bring important issues before the people, and to make them think on subjects that might

otherwise be ignored. When there is more than one party, competition is stirred up, and competition in political affairs is usually helpful, if it is fair.

The makers of the Constitution had no idea that there would be national political parties, but parties began soon after Washington's administration got under way. In practice most government is done through their agency. Persons are selected as party candidates, and the average voter, instead of voting his own first choice for a position, selects one of two or more candidates presented by political parties.

We seem to be devoted rather strongly to the idea of having two big parties. Third-party movements do not seem to be lasting unless the third party finally displaces one of the others. If there were always one outstanding issue in elections the two-party system would be inevitable. But this is not the case, and frequently the party system forces combinations of voters together which are hard to satisfy after the election is over. Both the two so-called great parties of today are therefore in a state of aggregation rather than consolidation. A new big problem might split them both. The Socialist party is waiting in the background to be the beneficiary of any such break-up of the present great party organizations.

To what extent do you think Abraham Lincoln would recognize the present-day Republican party or Thomas Jefferson the present-day Democratic party if they were alive? Would a man who voted for Lincoln in 1860 be likely to vote the Republican ticket today? Why? Do you see any advantage in the two-party system as compared with the French and German custom of having several parties? Is a Woman's party desirable?

257. How Parties Ought to Be Used. — Some issues which cause parties to be formed are not settled finally by one election or by several elections. Parties, therefore, to work most effectively must have a very thorough and complete organization. Each important party has a na-

tional committee, composed of one person from each state. It has also state committees, county committees, city and township committees, and even committees in wards and precincts. These committees look after the interests of the party in their particular districts. They try to arouse enthusiasm, to get friendly voters out on election day, and to win doubtful voters to their party. The members of permanent committees are usually chosen in the same way that candidates are nominated for office.

Investigate the method of organization of your local political parties. Are their committee men people of prominence, intelligence, or leadership in the community? Are they holders of public offices?

A party platform is supposed to be a statement of what the party believes. Often, however, it is drawn up not to express the sincere opinion of the party — perhaps it has none — but to get votes. A few people draw it up and frequently the party convention meekly adopts it without question, though occasionally there may be a real fight over some one "plank."

Are there any instances in which the victorious party in the last campaign did not keep its platform promises? Did its platform do anything more than attack the other party? To what extent is a candidate who accepts a party nomination bound to support the platform? Must he support everything that is in it? Why are some law-makers and executives referred to as "rubber stamps"? Why would any official act that way? What is a farm "bloc"? a labor "bloc"? Is it desirable that members of a law-making body should represent some particular economic interest? What is a statesman? Do statesmen do any good?

In no countries having popular government have the voters yet invented any other way of carrying on the business of electing officials and deciding issues than through political parties. Yet it does not follow that when a person connects himself by his vote or published statement with some political party he binds himself forever to vote that ticket nor to advocate anything or everything that may

appear in the platform of that party. It is because voters are so much inclined to vote by habit that party bosses and party machines are able to make themselves undesirable factors in our political life. If every political organization knew that it could not hold its forces together except by selecting the strongest candidates who could be obtained and by pursuing a policy of sincerity and straightforwardness in regard to public questions it would be of much greater service than most of them are.

One other difficulty in good government is that voters are not sufficiently willing to "split the ticket" — that is, to vote for some candidates of one party and some of another. There is no merit in voting a split ticket just for the sake of showing your independence; but if we are to have good government, voters should not hesitate to ignore an unworthy man on the ticket of the party which they commonly support and vote for his rival on the other ticket.

Parties can be of the greatest service only when they are the agents of the people. They do not exist for the purpose of telling the voters what to do. Their excuse for existence is that through them the voter may express his own opinion more effectively than if he did not associate himself with other voters in such an expression. It is only when a voter uses the party and not when he takes orders from it that the party is serving either the individual or our political system.

If in a campaign the two parties which usually have the largest number of votes each had nominated an unfit candidate for an office, what would be the duty of the voter who believed in good government? If you are dissatisfied with the party whose ticket you have been voting, would it be your duty to try to reform the party, to vote the opposition ticket, or to start a new party? Would your duty always be the same? Under what circumstances is it desirable that new parties should be organized? What is meant by a "protest vote" and by "throwing away your vote"? Is either wise or justifiable? If so, when? Can you make an estimate of the number of people of your acquaintance who vote as they do by reason of traditional

attachment to a party name, by reason of personal advantage to be gained, and by reason of their honest opinion on issues involved in the particular election? Is it good to have opposition parties even when the party in power is doing its best? Under such circumstances what honorable reasons might exist for supporting the opposite party?

The use of national party names in state and local politics sometimes makes people take sides in a way that is contrary to the interest of the state or the local community. It is particularly responsible for the extent to which party bosses and machines maintain themselves in power in some of the states. We cannot tell much about a man's fitness to be mayor of Philadelphia by discovering his views about the ownership of the Philippines; and even a man's views on the tariff cannot show whether he knows how to govern a state, since he cannot possibly get any revenue for the state by means of the tax on imported goods.

In a number of states provisions have been made for electing officers of local governments without the use of party names. Perhaps officers chosen in such a manner have not always exhibited any very noticeable improvement over those chosen by party nominations, but at least they have been voted for on local, not national, issues. If voters were sufficiently independent to switch from one party to another with freedom it would not make very much difference whether we used party names or not. But the cause of good local government would undoubtedly be promoted if voters could be aided to forget their national politics temporarily by not seeing national party names on local tickets.

If there were no party organization to advertise its candidates, by what means would candidates make themselves known to the voters? Is it true, as party organizations have often urged, that the poor man has a better chance of election through party organization than as an independent? Are leaders necessary in politics? When does a leader become a boss? Could a man regularly vote the ticket of one party at national elections and the ticket of another

party in local elections, and be sincere in both cases? Should school directors be chosen on party tickets? If a man says "I am a Republican" or "I am a Democrat," as an explanation for his vote, what may it signify in regard to his mental processes or his attitude toward good government?

258. Methods of Selecting Candidates. — But how are candidates picked out? The old method of nomination for office, still used to some extent, was through the caucus or convention. By a *caucus* we mean a meeting of the members of a party in a certain neighborhood, whether a precinct, a township, a state legislature, or Congress. A *convention* is made up of people elected by caucuses or by some other means to meet for some definite purpose. Nominations in a convention are made by a vote of the majority, or whatever other percentage of members the party rules require. National candidates are still chosen in this way, as no satisfactory substitute for it has been invented. The direct primary has not worked well for presidential candidates.

There are very serious objections to the caucus and convention system of nominations. At best, they are made up of only a few people, who may not represent the will of the party. There is plenty of opportunity for political trickery and for the underhand work of bosses and party leaders. In states and smaller political units "snap" caucuses have sometimes been called on very short notice, or else held so far in advance of the time of the election that the party as a whole could not realize what was to be done. Dissatisfaction with this system has led to a reform in most of the states.

This attempted reform is the *direct primary*. The convention system is based on the supposition that the voters can choose delegates who will do better than the voters in determining who should be candidates for office. The direct primary assumes that the voters are able to decide what candidates they want for their respective parties, and puts the matter directly up to them.

Primary elections are usually held some weeks or months before the regular elections. A person who wishes to be a candidate for a party must present to the officers who prepare the ballots a petition signed by a certain number of voters. Separate ballots are provided for each party, on which are the names of all the people who wish to be nominated by the party. Each voter who has enrolled as a member of some party is given a ballot of that party, and he marks the names of those whom he wants as candidates for the various offices. If he wants to vote for some one whose name is not printed on the ballot, he may write or paste it in a space that is provided for that purpose.

It was hoped that the direct primary would get rid of the political bosses and machines and produce a much higher order of candidates; but unfortunately it has not done all the good that was hoped, for people do not take as much interest in primaries as they should. Political bosses have found ways to control the primaries, and many voters simply vote for the candidates whom they know the bosses prefer. But after all the direct primary puts the nomination of candidates fully in the people's hands. If the people have bad government now, it is their own fault, for the rank and file of each party can, if they wish, nominate the party candidates.

Why do you suppose people take so little interest, relatively, in primary elections? Are we warranted in discarding a scheme or plan just because it does not do as much good as we expected?

259. The Choice of a President.—The selection of our chief magistrate is a matter of such importance that we ought to understand it thoroughly. No part of our Constitution has worked so differently from the intention of its makers as its provisions on this point. Since they did not trust the people at large to select the right person, they provided that the state legislatures should arrange for the selection of a certain number of men for each state and that these men

should pick out the President and the Vice President. Now, in practice, what happens? Each voter may vote for a list of presidential electors, as they are called, for his state; but he does not care who they are, for he knows in advance that these electors will consider themselves mor-



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A PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTION.

At this convention, held at Cleveland, June, 1924, President Coolidge was nominated.

ally pledged to vote for particular persons already named by a party for President and for Vice President.

(1) *Nomination.* — In June or July of every leap year each national party holds in some large city — more often Chicago than any other place — a convention made up of delegates from every state and territory. These delegates, sometimes after prolonged and wearisome balloting, settle upon men who will stand as the candidates of the party for President and for Vice President. The Democratic rule insists that two-thirds of the delegates of the convention must vote for a candidate before he can be the party nominee, but in other parties a majority is sufficient.

(2) *Choice of Electors.* — After several months of campaigning,

the voters of each state, on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November of the same year, mark their ballots for the presidential electors whose names have been put on the ballot in accordance with the laws of that state. Each party which nominates a candidate for the presidency puts up a list of electors equal to the whole number to which the state is entitled. Then the individual voter can vote for the entire list proposed by the party whose presidential candidate he prefers. This method gives the large states an advantage, for each state chooses as many presidential electors as it has senators and representatives in Congress, and unless some voters in a close state have been foolish or careless in marking their ballots, the entire list of electors of one party in any one state will get more votes than any electors of other parties. New York's 45 votes, for instance, will in all probability go to one man.

For all practical purposes the process of electing the President might stop right here, unless the electoral votes have been divided among more than two parties in such a way that no candidate receives a majority, but there are several steps required by the Constitution which must still be taken. Once some of them really meant something, but now they are mere formalities.

(3) *Voting by the Electors.* — On the second Monday of January of the next year, the electors meet in the state capital and go through the form of casting their ballots for the persons that the country has known for months they were going to vote for. Then three reports of their votes are made out, one of which is turned over to the United States District Judge in whose district the state capital is situated, and the other two sent to the president of the Senate at Washington by different methods.

(4) *Counting the Electoral Votes.* — On the second Wednesday of February the two houses of Congress meet and listen to the reading of the returns from the various states. If one candidate has received a majority of the electoral votes for President or Vice President he is declared elected, and then curiously enough, after going through all this formality, nobody has any official authority to inform the successful candidate. He is expected to show up on the 4th of March at the proper time to be inaugurated.

In the rare case when the majority of the electoral votes is not given to any one candidate something further has to be done. If no presidential candidate has a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives, each state casting one vote, must make the choice from the three highest candidates. If no one has a majority for Vice President, the Senate, its members voting individually, selects one of the two highest.

When has the House or the Senate elected a President or a Vice President? What reason would explain the adoption of the three constitutional qualifications for the President? Should the Vice President be any less capable a man than the President? In case the candidate of the successful party in the presidential election should die before the electors had met, what do you think the electors would do? in case a similar misfortune should occur after the electors met, but before March 4? in case the successful candidates for both President and Vice President should die between the second Monday of January and the 4th of March? Why is no cabinet member below the Secretary of State ever likely to become President? Why do we continue the antiquated formality in electing the President which has long ceased to have any political use? Would you care to be a presidential elector? Is there any reason why the President should not be chosen by nation-wide direct popular vote? If it seems desirable to preserve the present general plan of election, could it be done without the formality of having presidential electors?

260. Methods of Casting the Vote.—In England and in the American colonies voting was once done by word of mouth. Every one knew how people voted, and there was plenty of opportunity for bribery. After political parties became active, printed ballots came into use, each party printing its own. But as long as parties furnished the ballots, secret voting was difficult and dishonest voting easy.

Now almost everywhere in this country we use the so-called Australian ballot. It has three distinguishing features: (1) The names of the candidates of all parties are printed on the same ballot. (2) The marking is done in a private booth, a plan which discourages bribery, because there is no proof that a person votes the way he has been paid to vote. (3) The ballots are supplied by the state or county. Therefore no person can get any extra ones, and ballot box stuffing cannot take place, if the election board is honest. In several places, especially in New York State, voting machines are used which automatically record and count the votes. This saves the election board a good deal of work.

On what basis do newspapers often announce results early in the evening after an election? Do you know of any elections when the result was in doubt for several days?

From the various voting precincts the election officers send in their reports of the vote to some official, commonly an officer of the county. If the election affects state officers or Congressmen, reports are sent in from each county to a state official. By this official the votes are tabulated and certificates of election sent out to the persons who have been elected to office. If there are disputes over the honesty or correctness of the count in a district the defeated candidate sometimes asks a recount, and if he can show a judge sufficient reason for having the ballots counted over again, the judge will issue an order to that effect.

"Padding" the voting lists with the names of dead men, dogs, and wholly imaginary people, "repeating," that is, casting more than one vote, "colonizing," that is, bringing men into a district to vote who do not belong there, and other evils, have at times been frequent, especially in large cities. The penalty for this kind of thing is heavy, but it is sometimes hard to get a jury to convict anybody. Jurymen fear the wrath of the "boss" if they say "guilty." Yet these offenses are not nearly as common as they used to be.

Upon the election board depends to a great extent the honesty of an election, for if the board is dishonest, no scheme of voting will work. If the board does not hand in true returns of the votes cast, the election is not representative, for the will of the voters is not carried out. People do not pay enough attention to the make-up of their election boards. Sometimes, too, the pay provided is so small that nobody wants to serve on the board except people who cannot be trusted.

Is it a citizen's duty to serve on an election board when he is asked, even if it means sacrificing much of a day's pay? Should the person who takes a bribe be punished as severely as the one who gives it?

261. **Ballots.** — Such a simple matter as the arrangement of the names on the ballot may determine whether independent voting is encouraged or discouraged, and whether marking the ballot will take brains or be a mere mechanical making of a cross. In some states the candidates of one party are all grouped in one column, and a person can vote for them all by putting a cross in a square or circle at the top of the column. Some have a separate "party square" in which the voter may place one cross that counts for all that party's candidates.

The *Massachusetts ballot* puts all the candidates for an office together in alphabetical order. The party names are placed beside the names of the candidates, but no voter can vote a straight party ticket without marking each name separately. Sometimes instead of placing the names in alphabetical order, lots are drawn for first place. This takes away the advantage which a candidate has under the alphabetical arrangement if his name begins with A or B. Sometimes, too, the first place goes to the party which won the last election. Having some such fixed order prevents the purchasing of first place.

Does your state seem to care whether its voters vote independently or not? Be familiar with the form of ballots used. Does it seem to be satisfactory? How is the order of places determined?

A reform proposal about which we have heard much is the *short ballot*. The term does not refer so much to the size of the ballot as to the principle involved, though the blanket sized ballots used in some states make us question whether any one can vote them intelligently. The short ballot has been adopted to some extent in a number of the states, especially for local elections.

The idea is to have only a few officers elected by the people, and have them appoint their subordinates. It is argued that when the people have only a few candidates to vote for, they can find out something about them and vote intelligently and wisely. The supposition is that if a few

1. ~~Do you have a candidate for the United States Senate who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States?~~

[illegible]

A NEW YORK BALLOT.

In Pennsylvania the candidates' names are similarly arranged, but there is a row of "party squares" at the left of the ballot, where a voter may make one cross which will count for all the candidates of one party. In Massachusetts the candidates' names are arranged in alphabetical order with reference to each office. New York formerly had all the candidates of one party arranged in one column, as many of the states do still. By making one cross at the top of the column you could vote for all the candidates of one party. New York also used to have a picture at the head of each column to help the ignorant voter locate his party. It still retains the picture, though it has abolished the party column.

officials are well chosen their subordinates will be well appointed. The fact that progressive communities are, as a rule, the ones in which the plan is most popular is one point in its favor.

Are there any other devices, such as the recall (§ 264), needed to make the short ballot safe?

The marking of ballots often is done carelessly, with the result that the election officers sometimes throw out ballots. If the election is close, it may be that the result will be determined by the acceptance or rejection of ballots whose markings are in dispute. Every voter ought to be particularly careful to see that no election officer shall have any excuse for misunderstanding what he means.

Consult election officers whom you know with reference to the common kinds of mistakes made in marking ballots in your state. Are you sure you could mark a ballot correctly yourself? Remember that if you are a good citizen you will sometimes want to vote otherwise than a straight party ticket.

262. Representing Everybody. — Our nation and states are built upon the theory that the people shall choose men to be their agents in the government, and the will of the majority shall stand. If the representatives do not act satisfactorily as agents of the people, and do not carry on the people's wishes in the government, the voters can replace them with others at the next election. Thus we shall have a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

But this is the case only when the will of the people is honestly determined and fairly expressed. The people may pick good men or bad men, they may choose the right side or the wrong side of the question at issue, but if there is "a free ballot and a fair count" we must not deny that the election represents the people's will. We are often not sure, however, whether the will of the majority prevails, because if several parties nominate candidates each of them

may have less than a majority of all the votes. And sometimes the party system is so strong that it seems as if we

INSTRUCTIONS:

To vote for any person mark a cross (X) in a square to the right of the name.
Vote first choice for Mayor and two (2) Commissioners.
Vote second choice for Mayor.
Vote third choice for Mayor.
Vote your first choices in the first column.
Vote your second choices in the second column.
Vote your third choices in the third column.
Do not vote more than one choice for any one candidate.
If any voter shall vote more than one choice for any one candidate the vote highest in grade shall be counted and others rejected.

MAYOR—One to be elected.

NAME OF CANDIDATE	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice
66—BAKER, GEO. L.— "Will continue to meet all issues fearlessly and impartially for Portland's progress."			
67—GORDON, HERBERT— "A business man for Mayor."			
68—REINHARD, NORMAN E.— "Immediate reduction car fares; electric light and telephone rates. Municipal ownership."			
69—KELLANDER, DAN— "Will serve the people, not the interests."			

COMMISSIONERS—Two to be elected.

NAME OF CANDIDATE	First Choice
70—HANN, JOHN M.— "For re-election. More industries—more payroll—a common sense, business administration."	
71—BARBER, A. L.— "Greater Portland; greater industries; lower prices for street and sewer improvements."	
72—FERRIER, E. L.— "A clean government and a greater Portland."	
73—KINGLER, J. E.— "Progressive development for public utility. Better work, taxes for waste-profiteering oligarchs."	

A PREFERENTIAL BALLOT.

have a government of the people, by a party, and for a political boss or machine.

Suppose in a city election 18,000 votes are cast in all, for four candidates for mayor. A gets 6,000, B, 5,000, C, 4,000, D, 3,000. According to the usual custom A would be elected although he received only one-third of the total votes. But is A really the choice of the people? Perhaps none of the supporters of B, C, or D have any liking for A at all, but he has been elected because they divided their vote among three candidates. Is there any remedy for this? Some would say, let the supporters of the three candidates get together on one candidate. But that is more easily said than done.

The remedy might be the plan known as *preferential voting*. By this plan a voter designates not only his first choice, but also his second and often his third choice for an office. Then, if no one has a majority of first-choice votes, the candidate who has a majority of both the first- and second-, and sometimes the third-choice votes will win, instead of the one having merely the largest number of first-choice votes. Sometimes the second- and third-choice votes count only half. By means of the preferential ballot, the person who is elected is at least fairly satisfactory to a majority of the voters. This method has worked satisfactorily in several Ohio cities and elsewhere.

Are elections really representative unless the minority party or parties have a chance of electing somebody to something? Suppose that every county in a state gave a Republican plurality in an election, and the total vote in the state was 180,000 Republican, 110,000 Democratic, and 10,000 of other parties. Under any common system of electing members of the legislature the Republicans would elect nearly if not quite all of them. Then the forty per cent of the voters who did not vote the Republican ticket would have no voice whatever in the government. Is this quite fair?

To meet such a situation some would recommend a form of *proportional representation*. Various plans for working this out have been suggested. One such plan would have the representatives so arranged as to have three chosen from a district and then give a voter the right to cast three votes, with the right to lump all three for one candidate or to divide them otherwise as he pleased. In all probability the minority would do some such "lumping" and this would result in the election of some Democrats, so that the forty per cent of the voters who now elect nobody would have some representation.

Does this plan seem fairer than the usual method? In the imaginary state referred to above, would the Republican party organization be likely to favor proportional representation? would the Democratic organization? the independent voters?

REFERRED TO THE PEOPLE BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Submitted by the Legislature—**COMPULSORY VOTING AND REGISTRATION AMENDMENT**—Purpose: To amend Section 2 of Article II of the constitution of the State of Oregon so that provisions may be made by law to require compulsory voting, to require registration in their respective election precincts by all persons who are entitled to vote, to permit such persons to cast their ballots by mail or otherwise, when necessary by reason of illness, or in case of absence from the voting precinct during the entire day of election, or service in the army, navy or marine of the United States. Vote YES or NO

300 Yes.

301 No.

Submitted by the Legislature—**CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT REGULATING LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS AND THE PAYMENT OF LEGISLATORS**—Purpose: To amend Section 29 of Article IV of the Constitution of the State of Oregon to limit regular legislative sessions to sixty working days and extra sessions to twenty days, to regulate the introduction of bills after the fortieth day of the session, and to provide that each legislator shall receive not more than three hundred dollars for services, or when convened in extra session by the governor not more than five dollars per day, also mileage at the rate of three dollars for every twenty miles traveled to and from the place of meeting by the most usual route. Vote YES or NO

302 Yes.

303 No.

REFERENDUM ORDERED BY PETITION OF THE PEOPLE
Referred by Associated Industries of Oregon, offices 607 Oregon Building, Portland, Oregon: H. C. Huntington, President; H. J. Frank, First Vice-President; C. J. Ball, Second Vice-President; R. B. Bain, Jr., Secretary; all of Portland.—**OLEOMARGARINE BILL**—Purpose: To regulate and license the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine, nut margarines, butterines, reconstituted butter, process butter or any butter substitute, and to provide license fees to be paid by manufacturers, wholesale dealers and proprietors of hotels, restaurants, dining rooms and boarding houses; to prevent and punish fraud and deception in such manufacture and sale as an imitation of butter, and to prescribe penalties and punishment for violations of this act and means and methods of procedure for its enforcement.

Vote YES or NO

304 Yes.

305 No.

PROPOSED BY INITIATIVE PETITION

Initiated by the Oregon Single Tax League: Harry A. Rice, President, 1640 Front Street, Portland, Oregon; Mrs. Christina H. Mook, Secretary, 151 Seventeenth Street, Portland, Oregon.—**SINGLE TAX CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT**—Purpose: To assess all taxes necessary for the maintenance of state, county, municipal and district government, upon the value of land itself irrespective of the improvements in or on it and to exempt all other property and rights and privileges from taxation, from July 1, 1921, to July 1, 1925, and thereafter to take the full rental value of the land, irrespective of improvements, as taxes, and no other taxes of any kind to be levied, by amending Section 1 of Article IX of the Oregon Constitution.

Vote YES or NO

306 Yes.

307 No.

THE REFERENDUM AT WORK IN OREGON.

Notice the different ways by which these measures were put on the ballot. On this particular ballot the voters were asked to express an opinion on each of thirteen such propositions, and in the city of Portland several charter amendments were also voted upon. Among what kind of people would it be safe to call for such extensive expressions of popular opinion?

263. The Initiative and Referendum.—When the services of representatives are persistently unsatisfactory, there are two methods of remedy. The people can elect different officers, or they can take away their powers. Dissatisfaction with state legislatures and city councils, and a belief that the people have a right to express an opinion on many matters, have been responsible for the introduction of the initiative and the referendum — examples of *direct legislation*.

The *initiative* is a plan by which citizens may draw up a law and by filing with a state or local officer a petition signed by a certain percentage of the voters may cause it to be submitted to popular vote at a regular or special election. The *referendum* is the submitting of a measure to the vote of the people before it goes into effect. In many cases a certain percentage of the voters may, by signing and filing a petition, force an act of the legislature to be submitted to the voters.

The two often go hand in hand, although some states have the referendum without the initiative. In some places referendum votes are taken on amendments to the state constitution or on large bond issues, but not on any other measures. The initiative without the referendum can do nothing but suggest laws to the legislature, and show the law-makers how public opinion stands. The referendum would undoubtedly be very helpful under certain circumstances in enabling the people to register their will on particular matters. Who knows, for instance, just what the American people in 1920 wanted done with the Versailles treaty and the League of Nations? Some of the treaty's leading advocates as well as its bitterest opponents voted for Mr. Harding. The personality of a candidate, too, often influences votes to such an extent that the policies which he represents are overlooked.

The privilege of the initiative may be abused if too small a percentage of the people are able to use it, for then a small minority may constantly bother the people by forcing votes

on matters that are unimportant or not understood. Sometimes the people do not take enough interest when measures are submitted to them for their opinion, and they vote "no" on general principles. These forms of direct legislation have been used very extensively in the West, which is always ready to try something new, and they are making headway elsewhere.

If the initiative and referendum are to be most useful, what safeguards must accompany them? Of what use are legislatures if laws can be passed by the initiative and referendum?

264. The Recall. — Those who believe in making our government as nearly a pure democracy as possible have another proposal — the *recall*. The principle of it is that officers are simply agents of the people and can be removed if they do not please the people. When a certain number of voters are dissatisfied with the actions of an official, they can draw up a petition against him and compel a new election. Usually when a vote is taken on such a matter, the people may vote for new candidates. If there is a majority against the person who is in office, the new candidate who receives the largest number of votes takes the office.

The recall is a form of impeachment, but it is conducted by the people themselves. The danger is that in a fit of resentment or misunderstanding the people may reject an officer merely because in performing his sworn duty he has had to do something unpopular with a certain element. It should not be possible to force recall elections on slight pretexts. Some people who do not object to the recall in connection with legislative or executive officers feel that judges ought to be exempt from the use of it.

Is the recall suitable for use on a national scale? Should judges be subject to recall?

265. The Citizen's Attitude toward Government. — We often find fault with the members of our law-making bodies and with our executive officers. But has not even a political

boss the right to assume that the people want his opinion to prevail in the direction of public affairs, if they elect him or his tools to office? If his constituents wish him to do otherwise, they must let him know convincingly what *they* think. Sometimes, it is true, we are deceived by fine promises which are never carried out. But we can usually get "as good government as we really want or as bad as we will allow."

Is it a representative's duty to vote as his conscience and judgment dictate or as he knows the majority of his constituents would like to have him vote? If you were a representative in the legislature and a bill came up making prize-fighting legal, what would you do about it? Why? If a delegation of clergymen came to ask you to oppose it, how would you receive them?

Your attitude toward a law helps to decide what the community's attitude is to be. A few standard principles in this connection are important. "All laws are equally binding, if they do not conflict with higher laws." You are under just as much obligation to obey the laws of your town or state as those of the nation. "The law is no respecter of persons." Whether rich or poor, you have no right to claim exemption from a law which you expect some one else to obey. "Ignorance of the law excuses no one." A judge will probably be lenient with you once for failure to obey a law of whose existence you were unaware, but if you have any reason to suspect that you may be in danger of breaking a law, the responsibility rests with you to make sure you are right.

"A law remains in force until it is repealed." That you do not like it or that somebody else is disobeying it is not sufficient reason for you to ignore it. We talk much about our rights, but sometimes forget that rights bring duties with them. It has been said that right is the personal side of duty, and duty is the social side of right. Laws are made for the general good, and each man's duty is to respect his neighbor's rights.

Majorities sometimes ignore the rights of minorities. The fact that the number of your fellow-citizens who agree with you may be greater than the number who disagree with you does not by any means deny your opponents the right of free speech, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, and all the other "freedoms" that belong to any citizens who exercise them in a reasonable manner. Might does not make right, and majorities are not always right. In-trenched evil could never be overthrown if the minority's views were to be suppressed.

A citizen may personally dislike a public official, but that does not excuse him from respecting the latter's lawful position. He may try to prevent the official's reelection, but he has no right to undermine his authority or to counsel disobedience. For the time being, the official represents the whole people. The services which the people do for one another through their government are so vital and valuable that we owe thorough respect to those who, in a lawful manner, are at any particular time performing those services for us.

Is there any real danger of conflict between one's conscience and the law? To what extent did the "conscientious objectors" have a right to carry their "objection" during the war? Is it wrong for a person by peaceful means to urge the adoption of communism? What cases, if any, do you know of in which a citizen was denied his rights because he disagreed with the personal opinions of people in authority? Do people ever become so enthusiastic in religion that they take no interest in public affairs? Who or what is wrong in such a case? Is rotten politics a sufficient reason for a good citizen's staying out of politics? Why are politics rotten, if they are? What per cent of the people of your community and state actually do vote? Does your state have a boss or a machine? If so, why? Would you think differently if you belonged to a different party?

∴ Since the will of the people is usually expressed through parties, these should be made agencies to voice the people's desires and not to control them. Our election machinery should offer every encouragement for free, independent, intelligent voting.

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Every citizen should not only have the opportunity to make known his wishes on public questions, but should qualify himself to do so thoughtfully and courageously, with due respect to those in authority and to the opinions of those who disagree with him.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Party Divisions in Washington's Time.

The Local Organization of Political Parties.

The Tammany Society as a Factor in New York Politics.

Resolved, that no party name should appear on the ballot in campaigns for local or state offices.

The Duties of a Young Voter in Connection with Political Parties.

The Management of National Parties.

The Last Presidential Campaign.

The Presidential Nominating Convention.

The Primary Laws of Our State.

Qualifications for Voters in Our State.

The History of Woman Suffrage.

The Short Ballot, in Theory and Practice.

Plans for Proportional Representation.

Forms of Ballots.

The Initiative and Referendum in Operation.

The Work of the Recall.

The Election Laws of Our State.

Resolved, that the President should be chosen by direct popular vote.

Resolved, that a system of direct primaries should be devised for the nomination of presidential candidates.

The Registration of Voters.

Resolved, that every state should so arrange its election laws as to require the selection of some important officials every year.

Bribery and its Prevention.

Corrupt Practices in Controlling Legislation.

REFERENCE READINGS

Bryce — American Commonwealth, Chapters 39, 46, 53-75.

Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 5-8, 19.

Magruder — American Government, Chapters 17, 25, 26.

Young — New American Government, Chapters 26, 29.

Ray — Introduction to Political Parties.

Munro—Government of the United States, Chapters 22, 23, 33, 35.

Beard—American Government and Politics, Chapters 6, 7, 9, 23, 30.

Leacock—Elements of Political Science, Part II, Chapter 8.

Hart—Actual Government, Chapters 4, 5.

Tufts—The Real Business of Living, Chapters 37, 38.

Lowell—Public Opinion and Popular Government, Part II, Part III, Chapter 9, Part IV, Chapters 11, 12, 15.

Bryce—Modern Democracies, Chapters 40, 65, 70.

XXIV. MANAGING PUBLIC FINANCES WISELY

Public work is not done as charity. Supplies and materials of all kinds are expensive to the government as well as to private citizens. From what source does the government obtain the revenue to carry on this work? How is its business planned? What forms of taxes are most desirable and how should they be collected?

266. Why Governments Spend Money. — The government, like individuals, spends money, because there are certain things which it must do and certain other things which it desires to do. We have mentioned the three types of service which the governments perform — protective, industrial, and social. For the first purpose the national government spends most; the second item rests to some extent upon the national, state, and local governments alike; the third is, to a greater degree, a matter of state and local concern. It is said that 93 per cent of the appropriations made by Congress are for purposes related to war or arising out of past wars.

From the printed reports of your state and local officers find the various causes of expense, and classify them under the three general heads that have been mentioned.

We might suppose that the forty-eight states put together would spend a great deal of money. Perhaps, therefore, we shall be surprised to learn that they spend very much less than either the national government or the local governments. The number of matters which the state regulates, as we have seen, is very extensive; but since the active work of government is largely done through county, city, and township authorities, the actual collection and expenditure of money is done to a great degree by them. Not more than one-fourth as much money is spent by the states as by the divisions of the states. The objects for which local

governments may levy taxes are limited, in the case of cities, to the jurisdiction given them by their charters. Often, too, state legislation imposes limits to the taxing power of small communities. For example, sometimes a city, school district, or town may not levy more than a certain fixed rate. In other cases, however, there is no limit beyond the ability of the community to pay; and whether the community will supply its people with an abundance of public services or give them as little as they can decently put up with depends upon the community spirit that prevails.

Here is a list of revenues and expenditures for a certain city. Do these seem to be in the right proportion to each other? To what extent does your community do better or worse than the one whose report is here printed?

Receipts

Tax Levy of 1920	\$12,439,855.72
Water Rents of 1920	2,502,703.12
Taxes of Prior Years	733,041.20
Water Rents, Prior Years	345,411.09
Miscellaneous Resources (licenses, fines, fees, etc.)	2,233,315.93
Sale of Bonds	5,694,000.00
Special Assessments for Street and Sewer Improvements	418,489.14
Special Funds	247,641.05
Total	\$24,614,457.25

Warrants Drawn

General Government	\$1,276,578.18
Protection to Person and Property	4,175,743.53
Conservation of Health	594,361.35
Sanitation	2,003,835.60
Highways	1,922,995.02
Charities	638,243.42
Libraries	435,092.06
Recreation	702,090.17
Miscellaneous	597,623.72
Public Service Expenses	1,806,796.30
Interest on Debt	1,684,181.01
Judgments and Refunds	40,808.32
Amortisation of Debt	1,757,310.56
Expenditures on Bond Issues, Debt Liquidation, etc.	5,805,467.18
Total	\$23,441,126.42
Payment to Police Pension Fund	147,799.56
	\$23,588,925.98

Nearly \$1,000,000 remained to be paid on account of uncompleted contracts, unpaid bills and the like.

Under separate administration this city was spending about \$7,000,000 for schools at this time.

267. Making a Budget. — We know what will happen if a family gets everything that it wants, runs charge accounts, and afterwards tries to make a two thousand dollar income cover a five thousand dollar expense bill. The same thing will happen with a government as with a family. Yet in many law-making bodies, revenue bills and appropriation bills are frequently referred to entirely different committees, and several committees may propose appropriation measures. Appropriations are made without any reference to the amount of money that is in or is likely to be in the treasury. No wonder governments get into unnecessary debt. Budget making is, indeed, a needed art in government as in private business.

European governments for many years have had budget systems. In England, for example, it has been the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring in a budget measure for the consideration of Parliament, which will contain not only an estimate of the expenses of the government for the coming year, but a careful estimate of the way to meet those expenses.

Any American city government that pretends to have an intelligent administration attempts something in the nature of a budget. Perhaps the mayor receives the estimates that are made by the heads of the different city departments and then turns these estimates over to the council. In the preparation of the budget there is generally the opportunity for a public hearing, at which the community has a chance to learn how much expense is proposed for the year to come. In New York City the Board of Estimate and Apportionment has almost as much legislative power in financial matters as the Aldermen who actually have to pass the needed legislation.

Some states have also attempted something on the same order. There may be a State Board of Estimate or a commission under some other name to which the departments of the state government and institutions asking for state

appropriations must submit their requests. Then the state board submits its recommendations to the legislature. The same body sometimes has the right to require reports from each of the departments or institutions using public money, to show definitely how this money has been spent.

In the national government, for years, there was nothing like a budget system, but after much urging from several presidents a budget bill was finally passed by Congress in 1921. Under this bill there is provided in the Treasury Department a Bureau of the Budget, headed by a Director and an Assistant Director, who are appointed by the President without limit as to term. The Director of the Budget will prepare each year for submission to Congress an estimate from all the various governmental administrative departments, and will have the right to revise or reduce the estimates made by the various departments. The same law also establishes a General Accounting Office, which is not under any of the Cabinet departments. This is headed by a Comptroller-General and an Assistant Comptroller-General who are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate for terms of fifteen years. The Comptroller-General may not be reappointed. This General Accounting Office may investigate any matter with reference to the expenditure of public funds, and make reports to the President and Congress, particularly when any violation of law has appeared in the expenditure of money.

As long as we insist that the law-making body, as the people's own representatives, shall determine how money shall be raised and spent, we cannot take out of their hands the actual power to levy taxes and to pass appropriation bills. But such a system as we have just outlined will enable the law-making body to act intelligently if it wishes to do so. Administrative officials, moreover, will have little opportunity for graft and extravagance.

Why do you suppose Congress was so long unwilling to institute the budget system? What kinds of public officials would be

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opposed to anything of that character? Does your state or local government have anything corresponding to a budget system? If so, how does it operate?

268. Sources for Revenue.—But from what sources does public money come? Some people seem to think there is some kind of magic fund that is available for the government without any burden upon anybody. But there are only five general sources from which governments may obtain funds.

(1) *Taxation.*—A tax is in reality the taking of private property for public purposes, though usually a money equivalent is taken instead of the property itself.

(2) *Loans.*—Money obtained by borrowing, however, does not become the permanent property of the government and is only a temporary source of revenue, for it has to be paid back through taxes.

(3) *Sale or gift.*—Our government once obtained much income from the sale of public land, but this amount is now limited. To depend much upon the generosity of public-spirited citizens would also be foolish.

(4) *Fines* imposed on law-breakers, *licenses* required for people who engage in certain kinds of business, and *fees* for the performance of such public services as the recording of deeds.

(5) *Special assessments* collected from the people who are benefited by certain kinds of public work, like the laying out of a street, or the constructing of a sewer. In one sense this is different from the other sources of revenue, because it is a payment for actual benefit received by the one upon whom the assessment is levied and does not help the public treasury as a whole.

Use again the reports of your state or local officers and classify under the five heads which are mentioned the revenue received. What percentage of the total revenue has been obtained by each of the five methods?

The principal forms of taxation for our federal government have been the tariff on imported goods, and various forms of excise taxes, — that is, taxes on goods produced within the country, such

as tobacco, oleomargarine, playing cards, cigarettes, admission tickets to places of amusement and the like. Now the federal government collects a tax on inheritances over \$50,000 in value, and large sums through taxes on incomes of individuals and corporations.

Borrowing has been extensively employed in the times of our great wars to secure the necessary funds. We shall speak a little more about this later. By far the greatest part of such emergency needs could not possibly be met by taxation. During the Great



THE ENTRANCE TO A TOLL BRIDGE.

Notice the toll house at which travelers must stop. This bridge at Harrisburg has been constructed in a much more beautiful form than many.

War, for example, our government issued five series of Liberty and Victory Bonds amounting in all to somewhat more than \$20,000,000,000.

Which of the various forms of revenue mentioned could be depended upon to produce the needed amounts most regularly, and which might vary considerably from year to year? From figures which you can find in the World Almanac or some other reference book, determine the percentage of national government revenue at different periods which has been derived from each of the different sources. Perhaps you can show this by means of a chart or

graph. Could the federal government constitutionally levy a tax on land? Could it levy a tax of 25% on coal imported at Philadelphia, and 15% on coal imported at New York? Could it levy a tax of 50% a ton on coal exported from the country? Could it pay money out of the national treasury for putting up schoolhouses in the city of Washington?

The powers of the state to levy taxes are limited only by restrictions imposed either in the Constitution of the United States or in that of the state itself. For example, like the national government, no state has the right to levy a tax on exports, but, unlike the national government, it has no right to levy a tax on imports except for the purpose of inspecting goods brought into the states. Moreover, it may not levy any "tonnage duty," that is, a tax on the weight of goods a vessel may carry, because such a tax might interfere with interstate commerce. Various court decisions have also ruled that no agency of the federal government, like a national bank, for instance, is subject to taxation by the state.

The means by which the state obtains money are various. A tax on corporations, on either their capital stock or net proceeds or gross earnings, is very popular. Inheritance taxes are employed by every state to a considerable extent. A few states have income taxes. Automobile licenses and taxes are also a valuable source of revenue, but in some states money received from these sources must be spent on the highways. A number of other licenses and fees are used by many states as a source of revenue. Several states have personal property taxes, but these are not at all dependable, for reasons that we shall see later. Fines, interest, and rents on public property also bring in some revenue. The largest source of state revenue, speaking generally, is a general property tax, though some states do not have this at all.

The agencies which levy local taxes vary in different sections of the country in accordance with the type of local government that is prevalent. In some sections practically all taxes are collected through the county. In other cases there are separate county taxes, school taxes, and city or township taxes. The tax on real estate constitutes

more than half of all the revenue obtained by local governments. Supplementing this tax are fines, license fees and sometimes poll taxes and occupation taxes.

269. The Qualities of a Good Tax. — Quite likely there are people who would say there is no such thing, but surely some taxes may be less objectionable than others. For an American citizen to object to paying any taxes whatever is a sign that he is either ignorant or ungrateful. There are at least these five cardinal principles of just taxation:

(1) *Ability to pay.* — A man who has property receives more extensive protection from the government than one who has no property. The man who has much can make a large payment and not miss it as greatly as a man with little property would feel a smaller tax. Not even the government can get money from somebody who does not have it.

(2) *Use for public purposes* rather than to enlarge private fortunes of public officials.

(3) *Definiteness in the conditions of payment.* — A taxpayer should know how much he is to pay, when it is to be paid, and to whom. Hence the publication of tax notices in newspapers by county and city treasurers and the posting of them in public places.

(4) *Convenience in payment.* — A sacrifice made in the public interest should not become needlessly burdensome. For this reason one may pay his federal income tax in quarterly installments if he prefers. On some taxes a discount is permitted if paid before a certain date.

(5) *Uniformity* in rate for all who are in similar circumstances.

The *progressive* or *graduated* tax has come to be very popular. This kind of tax is graded so that a higher rate is collected from the larger objects of taxation than from smaller ones. The federal income tax, for example, begins at the rate of 1½% on the first \$4000 of taxable income. There is 5% on incomes beyond the first \$8000 to be taxed. Besides, there is a surtax which goes up to 20% on that

part of a person's income exceeding \$100,000. People with large incomes are not enthusiastic about this principle of taxation, but it appeals very strongly to the masses.

Discuss the justice of a progressive tax as compared to the ordinary percentage rate. Is it right to collect school taxes from people who have no children attending public schools? Is it right to take so much of the large incomes in the form of taxes? Would it be any harder for a man with a \$3000 income to pay a \$40 tax than for a man with a \$50,000 income to pay a \$2000 tax? What would you think of a tax collector who announced that people might pay their taxes whenever he was at home? Has a citizen the right to expect the collecting officer to send him a bill for his taxes?

There are only three limitations on the taxing power of Congress: that taxes must be uniform all over the United States; that taxes must not be levied on exports; that direct taxes upon the states must be levied in proportion to population. Since the per capita wealth of the states does not by any means correspond to the population, this method of direct taxation may be exceedingly unfair. Theoretically the House of Representatives, because it was presumed to speak for the people more directly than the Senate, was given the sole right to introduce revenue measures. The power of the Senate to amend all bills has made this supposed privilege of the House of little value. The only limit upon the raising and spending of money by Congress is that bills for the support of the army and navy cannot cover more than two years' needs. In practice such measures are passed every year.

Why is such a time limit imposed on this kind of bill?

In the states where the general property tax is an important source of revenue some system of equalization is necessary. Different counties, intentionally or unintentionally, may put very widely different estimates upon the value of pieces of property which are really alike. Therefore we find in very many states a State Board of Equalization, which has the right to make such adjustments as seem nec-

essary in order to prevent one county or section of the state from paying less than its fair share of state taxes.

Find the sources of revenue used by your state government. Does the constitution of your state limit the legislature in any way in the matter of taxation or in the objects for which it may spend money? Could your state levy a tax on railroad tickets? Could it appropriate money for the construction of a church? Could it appropriate money in the aid of a hospital maintained by some religious denomination? Does your state constitution require a larger vote in its legislature for appropriations to private than to public institutions, if it permits such appropriations at all?

270. How Taxes Are Collected.—All taxes can be included in two great groups, direct and indirect. *Direct* taxes are those whose burden the taxpayer himself is expected to bear. *Indirect* taxes are those whose burden the taxpayer is expected to shift to some one else. Income taxes are direct. Taxes on imported or manufactured goods, tobacco, and the like are indirect taxes, for the importer or manufacturer charges his customers enough to include the amount of the tax. Indirect taxes are the more popular kind with a great many, because those who use the taxed goods do not realize that they are paying the tax. The burden of all taxes, whatever the method of collection, will ultimately be distributed over the whole community. Higher taxes on a storekeeper, for instance, mean that he will charge more for his goods, and higher taxes are often used as an excuse for a good many forms of robbery for which they are not really responsible.

Customs, duties, and imposts are taxes on imported goods, and we generally use the word *tariff* in this country to mean the same. *Excise* taxes are levied on the production and sale of goods within the country. These may be levied either as *specific* duties, that is, a fixed amount per pound, or yard, or other unit of measure, or *ad valorem*, a certain percentage of the value of the goods. In one sense the *ad valorem* duty is fairer, but cheating the government by misrepresentation of the value of imports is not so easy when the duty is specific. A poll tax is a fixed sum, say \$1, \$2, or \$3, on each person affected. Sometimes this is called a *capitation tax*.

Many object to this form of tax as not in accordance with our principles of good taxation, but a poll tax is seldom high enough to be an expensive burden on very many people.

Does the relative popularity of the indirect tax as compared with the direct tax mean that people like to be fooled? Do any of these forms of taxes which we have mentioned here disagree with our standards of good taxation?

A principle similar to taxation, though differently exercised, is the *right of eminent domain*. This refers to the state's power to take private property for public use. Sometimes this power is transferred to such private corporations as railroads, but then limits are usually placed upon it. The government, however, does not take the property without compensation. It pays the owner whatever is deemed to be a fair value of the property. If the owner and the government cannot agree, a court will appoint a board of viewers who will suggest what they think is a fair valuation.

Are there ever any circumstances under which a private property owner would have the right to object to the exercise of eminent domain by the state? If a new railroad was being constructed and the owner of a piece of land where the railroad desired to lay its tracks was unwilling to dispose of it, would the railroad have the privilege of eminent domain in taking the property? If an ad valorem duty is levied on imported goods, should the basis of reckoning be their value abroad or after importation? Mention five forms of taxes that are distinctly direct; five that are distinctly indirect; some which might be direct under some conditions and indirect under others.

The federal tax on imported goods is collected at the customhouses. To receive the internal revenue taxes, including the income tax, collectors are appointed in each of about seventy districts into which the country is divided. Sworn reports have to be made by those who are to pay the taxes and the government at first has to accept these statements as the basis of the amount to be paid. Its opportunities for checking up these reports, however, are such that the evasion of these taxes is not only dishonorable but risky.

State taxes, in case the state obtains revenue from direct property tax, are usually collected through the county and may appear on the same bill with the county taxes. Automobile licenses and similar fees are usually paid directly to some state officer, however. In many more cases than it is actually done, all state and local taxes could be paid to the same official, but unfortunately many states have not seen the advantage of having the local tax collections made in a businesslike way. The county treasurer often receives tax collections, but sometimes there is a special county tax collector. The same thing is true in local subdivisions.

But how are you or the government to know how much you should pay in taxes on real estate or personal property? A personal property tax must be based mainly on your statement, for it is difficult for any one to prove how many bonds or stocks you have in your safe or your attic. Because of the temptation to dishonesty in paying taxes on personal property, many experts on finance are opposed to this kind of tax, and in a good many places it has been abolished.

Real estate is different, however. There are officials known as *assessors*, who can see what your house and land look like, and put a valuation on them. Sometimes they are county officials, sometimes city or township officers, and sometimes we have them both in the same county. In some places they have the habit of making an estimate much lower than they know it really ought to be. If a person believes that his own particular property is assessed too high, he has the right of appeal to some other official or board that has power to reduce the valuation.

When the assessment of all the property in the state, township, or county, as the case may be, has been completed, the county or other authorities who have taxes to levy know the value of the property on which the taxes are to be based. Then, after they have determined how much

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money they want to collect during the year, it is simply a matter in arithmetic to find the rate of tax. A common



PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN NEW YORK CITY.

In the center of the picture is the old city hall. Back of it is the city post office. The tall structure is known as the Municipal Building.

way to express this is by the number of mills per dollar of property value. In some states they call one per cent of

the property valuation the *grand list* and base the tax rate upon that. Willful evasion or misrepresentation in connection with taxpaying is a crime and punishable by fine or imprisonment. When a person fails to pay a tax on property, officials may seize the property and sell it in order to secure the money. Whatever part of the amount received is not needed to pay the taxes and costs of collection is returned to the original owner.

It is assumed that certain institutions are rendering a service of a public character, and these are frequently exempt from paying any tax. Under this head are usually included churches, any other property used for religious purposes, schools, and public buildings of all kinds. In a great many states a certain amount of personal property or household furniture is exempt from taxation. In some states, the towns even have the right to exempt a private corporation from taxation in order to get the corporation to establish its business there. In other states, however, such granting of special privileges would be wholly unconstitutional. Government bonds of any sort are usually exempt from taxation. But many believe that this is bad policy, from the viewpoints of both the government and business. If necessary to pay higher interest than is now common, in order to get people to lend money to the government, it would be more profitable in the long run, they say, to do so.

Bring in samples of all the forms of tax receipts you can collect and see what you can discover in regard to the time and method of collecting taxes paid in your community. Is it better that a tax collector should get a fixed salary or be paid a percentage of what he collects? Why do you suppose any assessors would wish to estimate property at a figure below its real value? What excuse could a community have for doing this kind of thing as a regular practice? What excuse can there be for having a township or city assessor and a county assessor in the same county? If you owned a building worth \$5000, but assessed at \$8000, what would you do about it? If you owned a building worth \$8000, but assessed at \$5000,

what would you do about it? Is it right to exempt church property from taxation? Should private schools pay taxes? Would your town have the right to exempt the Security Woolen Mills from taxes for a period of five years in order to keep them there? Would you consider this kind of thing a good policy, assuming, of course, that it is constitutional?

271. Possible Tax Reforms. — Every intelligent observer realizes that our tax system is far from perfect. But can we do anything to improve it?

The situation often referred to as double taxation is somewhat unfortunate. Especially is this noticed in the case of corporations which get a charter in their home state and pay a tax there, pay taxes also in other states where they have offices, factories, or other property, and pay the federal tax besides. In view of the fact that most corporations do an interstate business, we should not expect the federal government to abandon its right to tax them or supervise their methods of doing business. For the federal government to assume the sole right to tax corporations, however, would cause considerable inconvenience to the states, since several of them depend quite largely on their corporation tax for their revenue.

Some people believe that the national government, state government, and local governments should, either by a constitutional provision or general understanding, refrain from levying a tax upon the same source of revenue. Taxes on imports are clearly federal revenue, and general property taxes have thus far been preserved solely for local governments and state governments. If taxes on some one source of revenue are unduly high, people will seek to transfer their property to some other form, and the tax will then cease to be very productive. To make business pay its share of taxes without making business itself a burden is a serious problem. Taxes on inherited property, especially if it is bequeathed to one who is not a near relative of the deceased, are steadily becoming more popular. It is argued

that such beneficiaries probably did little or nothing to earn the bequest, and that since the protection of the state made it possible to lay by such wealth the state has a right to take a portion of it as compensation. At the same time, if such a tax is made too high, people will give away their property before they die.

If your state makes use of the corporation tax as a source of revenue, can you imagine what would be substituted for it if corporation taxes were collected only by the federal government? When liquor licenses became useless as a source of revenue in your state, what took their place? Is it right for a man who lives in a state which collects an income tax and who owns property in another state, to pay a property tax in the state where the property is located, and an income tax in the state where he resides? Are there any circumstances under which you would consider inheritances as earned?

One class of reformers declares that most of our social troubles will be removed or greatly relieved by simply substituting something else for our present system of taxation. Their idea, known as the *single tax*, is that if nothing were taxed except the value of land, the improvement in the distribution of social burdens would be so great as almost to revolutionize society. They argue that land is the gift of Nature, that men have no right to take it away from the use of all the people, and that doing so is the greatest cause of misery and injustice. To tax a man for a house or factory which he erects is the same, they say, as punishing him for his enterprise. They assert that the rent value of land would meet all the financial needs of any government and would take the place of all our other forms of taxation.

Some objections occur at once to one who feels that he has to be "shown." Will the money needs of a state always be met by the rent of the lands of the state? Will the system be flexible enough to provide for emergencies? Are there not other things besides land which cost the government much in the way of protection, and should these things — houses, factories, and the like, be wholly exempt

from meeting the cost of government? Did not many of the people who now hold land pay for it with the earnings of their labor? How can we tell how much of the value of many pieces of land today is due to actual improvement?

Do you know any people who are single taxers? Do they own property in land? Ask them what answers they would give to the questions just raised.

The single tax is most popular among that portion of the voters who do not own any land. That land speculation and the "unearned increment" of land-value have made some people rich is perfectly true. A recognition that there is some merit in the single tax contention is seen in the tax program adopted in a few places, under which the tax on buildings is set at a rate considerably lower than the tax on land. This arrangement tends to prevent land speculation and at the same time collects from the owners of buildings a reasonable compensation for the protection they receive

272. Special Uses of the Taxing Power. — The national Constitution gives as a reason for the collection of taxes by Congress "to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." Apparently no limit was intended upon the objects for which taxes might be collected as long as they could be excused under these heads. The Supreme Court has therefore justified Congress in exercising this taxing power very broadly. State legislatures, within their own field, also have this same power of taxation for the "general welfare." Taxes have therefore been used for a number of other purposes than getting money.

It has been said that "the power to tax is the power to destroy." State governments and national government have used the taxing power even to this extreme. For example, the national government in 1865 deliberately imposed such a heavy tax on paper money issued by state banks as to make it unprofitable for them to issue any more.

Congress attempted to use its taxing power in the same way to make the employment of child labor unprofitable. But the Supreme Court in this case refused to admit the right of Congress to harm by taxation industries which the Court said were subject to the jurisdiction of the states.

The power to tax may also be used to construct as well as to destroy. This is the announced purpose of the protective tariff — by taxing certain imports to encourage the protection of these goods within the United States. As to the general effect of the protective tariff, as we have seen, people do not all agree, but that it may make certain industries profitable is unquestionable.

Those people who believe that large fortunes are piled up by the robbery of the less fortunate have urged that this taxing power be exercised in such a way as to make millionaires impossible. Do you think such a proposition would be constitutional or wise?

The McKinley Tariff bill of 1890 admitted foreign-grown sugar free, but gave a bounty of 2 cents a pound on sugar produced within the country. What do you think of this bounty as a substitute for a protective tariff on sugar? Does an ordinary family need more than \$10,000 a year to live on comfortably? If not, what would you think of a proposal to lay a 100% tax on that portion of all incomes in excess of \$10,000? Do you think a state would have the right to demand a license fee of \$1000 a year from a grocer? One of the states had for a time a law requiring a license fee of \$1000 for every performance of a circus within its limits. What do you think of the constitutionality or wisdom of such a law?

273. Public Debts. — Almost every government owes money. Is this good business? Yes, experts say, it is a safeguard against extravagance, because, if there are large public funds to spend, legislators are likely to be careless. Besides, it is urged, people to whom the government owes money are greatly interested in defending it so that it will be able to pay back its obligations. Moreover, since the greater part of the money which a government owes has been borrowed from its own people, the situation is almost the same as if they took it out of one pocket and put it into another.

The fact that good may come from the existence of a public debt does not justify wanton additions to it. Sometimes when an administration wishes to do something that appears to cost the public nothing, it borrows money and leaves it for other administrations to pay off. But the only real justifications for long-standing debt are the needs of a serious emergency, such as the Great War, and the undertaking of public improvements which will be used for years after they are constructed.

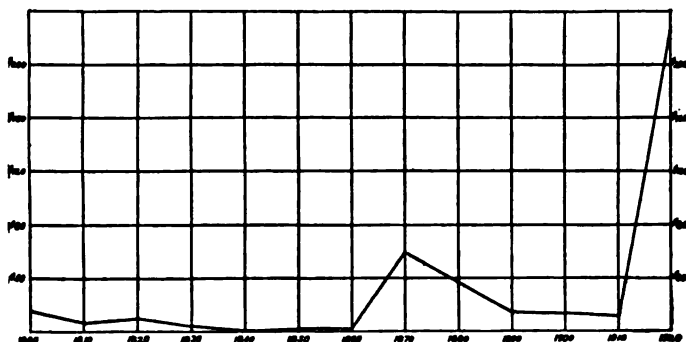
The most common way for governments to borrow money is to sell bonds, which do not differ in character from bonds issued by corporations. Usually the bond is to be paid off at a fixed date with semi-annual interest payments. The readiness with which bonds are sold depends upon people's confidence in the government, the rate of interest, and sometimes the length of time for which the bond is issued. Bonds are often issued in series, falling due in different years, so as to simplify paying them off.

United States bonds are always considered "as good as gold." Why, then, did Liberty bonds sell below par for some time? Review from your history what happened when the United States was virtually out of debt and had a surplus in its treasury.

The national government is not in any way limited in its borrowing powers, except that Amendment XIV forbade the paying of any debt incurred in the aid of rebellion. The Civil War debt of over \$2,800,000,000 was reduced to about \$1,000,000,000, but the Great War lifted it tremendously so that at its highest point it was about \$25,000,000,000. State governments are sometimes limited by their own constitutions as to the amount of debt they can incur, though the exception is always made that any expense is warranted if necessary for public defense. Many states have debts of considerable size; but in general the finances of the states are in a safer condition than those of the large cities, and the size of the state debts in proportion to their wealth is not in many cases unreasonable. In recent years

more money has been borrowed for highway construction than for any other reason.

Most counties, cities, townships, and school districts also have debts. It is common to find, in state constitutions or city charters or state laws, a limitation on the amount of debt a local government may incur, usually based on a certain percentage of the property valuation — 2, 5, or 10 per cent, for instance. But in spite of such limitations, the large cities of the country are heavily in debt, and one may



THE PER CAPITA DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is not the total debt of the country that is particularly significant, but rather the per capita debt compared with the country's wealth. Explain if you can the variations this chart shows. Do you think our debt today seems any more of a burden than the debt in 1800 seemed to the people of that day?

be pardoned for wondering how some of them are ever going to pay their obligations. New York City's debt alone is considerably more than the debt of all the state governments put together and is bigger than that of the United States government before the Great War. City finances are on the whole the most poorly managed of any form of governmental finance.

No government has any business to incur a debt without having some plan for paying it off. A very common method is by the establishment of a *sinking fund*. A cer-

tain amount is raised for this purpose by taxation each year and put on interest. This fund should be used for no other object whatever, unless for public defense in a crisis. When a part of the bonds or other form of obligation falls due, the money in the sinking fund is used to make the necessary payment. When the community thinks of going into debt, therefore, it should consider carefully whether it will feel the burden of the proposed outlay more by collecting the money all at once by taxation, or by carrying a debt for many years, and ultimately paying not only the face value of the obligation, but the interest for the period during which the debt is in existence. In most local governments any large debt has to be approved by a referendum vote before it can be incurred.

Would you justify the national government's borrowing money to pay the President's salary? to construct the Panama Canal? to build West Point Military Academy? Would the state government be warranted in borrowing money to increase teachers' salaries? to lend to a privately owned railroad? Would your local government be justified in borrowing money to build a school-house? to repair streets? to establish a water system? to make up a deficit in last year's account? Make a list of five objects each for which it would be permissible for the national government, for the state government, and for the local government to borrow money. Is there any reason why the local government should have its borrowing power limited by the state legislature? When a referendum vote is being taken in regard to a proposition to borrow money, would it be well to limit the right to vote on the proposition to the owners of real estate only?

274. What a Citizen Gets for His Money. — There is such a thing as false economy. Low taxes do not necessarily mean good government. The important point is whether a community will be better off if its government performs a certain service. People have little right to complain of taxes when they get "value received." Every citizen receives protection, many of them do receive or have received education, and all of them are furnished countless

conveniences, which they may enjoy if they desire to do so.

Safeguards against dishonesty and wastefulness are, of course, always in order. Rich or prominent people, and people who belong to the same club, lodge, or political organization as some office-holder sometimes demand and obtain special favors. They get contracts to do public work at a big profit. Unnecessary jobs are sometimes created with large salaries. Men sometimes do not work nearly so hard in public service as they would for a private employer. This kind of thing is not universal, but we have to be on our guard all the time against it.

Give examples of grants, "concessions," or privileges bestowed by public officials which seem unjustifiable; of others which are permissible.

It is a generally accepted principle in every phase of our government that no money shall be paid out by officials unless it has been authorized by the law-making body. No money should go out of the national treasury unless Congress has appropriated it, none out of the state treasury unless the state legislature has authorized it. In local governments the county commissioners, city council, borough council, township supervisors, school directors, or the town meeting, must have voted the authority for spending the money. When any person is entitled to receive payment for services or supplies that he has furnished, a warrant is made out by the proper official and this warrant must be presented by the person to whom the money is to be paid. There is always some official known as the controller or auditor whose duty is to make sure that all payments have been authorized by law. An honest man in such a position can completely prevent graft and do much to stop waste and extravagance in public affairs.

Through this power of supplying the funds, the law-making branch has a hold upon the other branches of the gov-

ernment which it might be tempted to use unreasonably. Few public officials will serve for long without pay. By refusing appropriations, the law-makers can therefore tie up any branch or division of the government work. In practice, however, they are restrained by public opinion and seldom dare wantonly to break up the operation of any important branch of the government service.

∴ Spending the money of citizens for public purposes is a big proposition which should be handled on a strictly business basis. Revenues should be collected in such a way as to make possible that public service which will advance the community's welfare, and at the same time be kept from burdening taxpayers unreasonably. To do this involves careful planning in advance and honest spending when the money is in hand.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Expense Bill of Our National Government.
 How the Great War Affected Our Finances.
 The Expense Bill of Our State Government.
 The Expense Bill of Our Local Government.
 How Our State Gets Its Revenues.
 How Our Local Government Gets Its Revenues.
 The History of the Public Debt of the United States.
 The Public Debt of Our State Government.
 The Debt of Our Local Government.
 The History of the Struggle for a National Budget System.
 Budget Making in Our State.
 Budget Making in Our Local Government.
 Henry George and His Ideas.
 The Progressive Tax in the United States.
 What I Would Do if I Were the Director of the Budget.
 The Right of Eminent Domain.
 Exemptions from Tax Paying.
 Adam Smith and His Views on Taxation.

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Beard—American City Government, Chapter 5.

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XXV. TRAINING COMMUNITIES FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

If democracy is desirable, its privileges ought to be extended as widely as possible. But are all people ready to receive it? If not, by what means can they be prepared for it?

275. Who Ought to Govern Themselves? — "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," says the Declaration of Independence. Is that true for all people? A few years ago we heard much about "self-determination," but Mr. Lansing rightly characterized the term as "simply loaded with dynamite." Surely the fact that some part of a country for some reason thinks it would like to be independent is not in itself sufficient excuse for breaking up a nation's dominions.

Yet how can we draw the line between reasonable and unreasonable aspirations for self-government and independence? Perhaps it is a parallel to compare the child and man with the nation that is learning to govern itself and that which has acquired full control of its own destiny. Ability to provide properly for its own welfare and the intention to use its powers in peaceful coöperation with other well-disposed communities are two significant tests. Even then there is room for argument as to when these attainments have been developed, and who shall decide whether they exist?

Surely not all conditions are suitable for the fullest exercise of democracy. The district that is newly settled, thinly populated, whose people have not had time to become fully acquainted with each other, or to set up permanent political institutions for themselves, needs a period of prepara-

tion. Self-government cannot be imposed from without; it must be developed from within.

276. Preparing Territories for Statehood. — To provide this preparation we have established a form of government which is called a *territory*, the object of which in the past has been to prepare the inhabitants of the district to receive a state government at the appropriate time. The North-



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THE HARBOR AND PART OF THE TOWN OF SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO.

west Territory Act of 1787 was the foundation of this system of governing territories. In general the form prescribed for the territories to be carved out of this region has been followed ever since. Only six of our present states, Vermont, Kentucky, Maine, Texas, California, and West Virginia, never passed through the territorial stage.

In territorial government a governor, other executive officers, and judges, are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The voters of the territory elect

a legislature, but the laws passed by this legislature are subject to veto by the governor or by Congress. The territory is allowed to send a *delegate* or *commissioner* to the national House of Representatives, who takes part in the discussion of measures but is not allowed to vote. The territory has no part in the election of Senators or the President, except that by courtesy the political parties allow delegates from the territories to sit in their nominating conventions. The length of time that a district continues as a territory is uncertain and varies widely.

The present territories are Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico. At present there seems little prospect of the admission of any of these as states, yet their form of government in all important respects is such as Ohio or Missouri or Utah had before they became states. It is within the power of Congress, as we have previously noted, to admit them whenever it wishes.

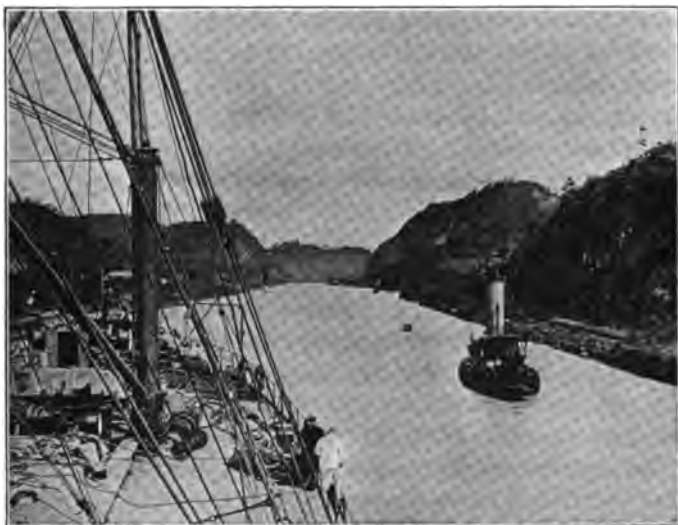
For what reasons is it not likely that any of the three present territories will be admitted soon? Do you think the people of the territories feel that they are deprived of any of the privileges of free government? Do you know of any circumstances when a territory might have been admitted as a state but was unwilling to come in?

277. Governing Island Possessions.—Until the Spanish war the problems of the United States in dealing with independent or newly acquired territory were, after all, comparatively simple. The territory was next door to land already a part of the United States and either had already been occupied in part by people from the states or eventually would be. Besides, it was all on the continent of North America.

Then, most unexpectedly, came the short and brilliant conflict with Spain. As a result, islands passed from Spain to the United States, already thickly populated with people speaking Spanish or some other language than English, people whose political heritage and institutions came from

Spain and not from England. What was to be done with these regions? Were they to be considered American territory, with all their people possessing fully the rights of American citizens under the Constitution of the United States, or were they simply *possessions* subject to the will of Congress, to be governed as that body might determine? The Supreme Court took the latter view.

As a result of the policies established by the administration of President McKinley, assisted by the court's deci-



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A SCENE IN THE PANAMA CANAL.

sions, a widely different form of government was set up in almost every one of the regions newly obtained through war or peaceful acquisition. Before many years, as we have seen, the people of Porto Rico received full citizenship, and in the course of time its government became virtually the same as that of any other territory. Several smaller possessions, such as Guam, Tutuila, and the Virgin Islands,

have been put entirely under the command of officers of the United States Navy. The government of the Panama Canal Zone, during the period of the construction of the canal, was simply one of the features in the canal construction. But since the completion of the canal, the Zone has been given a civil governor with the necessary subordinate officers.

The government of the Philippines furnished the most serious problem of all. Here were 8,000,000 people, now 10,000,000, many of whom were not at all thankful to the United States for coming into the islands. A considerable portion of them claimed to be able to look out for themselves; others were in an almost savage state. Military government was necessary for a while, but in 1902 civil government was set up throughout most of the islands. In 1916 a legislature of two houses, known as the Senate and the House of Representatives, was provided. The President appoints a Governor-General, and there are several executive departments. Almost all of the members of the Assembly are elected by popular vote. There is also a system of courts, headed by a Supreme Court. The islands are divided into forty-six provinces, in each of which there is a provincial governor, who with two other members forms the Provincial Board.

The act establishing the present government of the Philippines declared it to be the intention of the United States to give the islands their independence as soon as they are ready for it, but who is to decide when that will be? Do we really know the desires of all the people of the islands? The representatives of Republican administrations who have been sent to the islands have usually gone there with the expectation of discovering that the islands were not ready for independence, and have found what they expected to find. Governor-General Harrison, who served several years during President Wilson's term, recommended, on the contrary, that the islands should be granted their independ-

ence. If political prejudices could be removed from the discussion of the problem it would be a little easier to discover what is best to do. A very large measure of self-government actually exists already, and very likely absolute independence is not the desire of all those who talk about it. The protection of the United States is undoubtedly helpful to the security of the islands and the best interests of the Far East.

In what respects was the problem of governing regions already thickly populated different from the government of unsettled or sparsely settled districts? Has there been any other case, except the Philippines, in which the people of a territory which came into the possession of the United States were not satisfied to remain under its authority?

278. Protecting Weaker Peoples.—In its position as dominating power of the New World, the United States has been brought many times to a point where it had to decide whether to permit serious misgovernment to continue in some of the smaller republics, or to allow European powers to take their own means of collecting what these republics owed them. Weakness is never sufficient excuse for neglect to keep one's obligations, especially if the weaker party is dishonest as well as weak. To say, therefore, that European powers should have no right to the payment of claims due them, would be utterly unfair; yet experience with some European powers made it clear that to let them do as they would like would result as in the old fable of the camel warming his nose inside the tent.

And so, to save some small republics from both themselves and their creditors, our government has felt obliged to assume the responsibility for the management of their finances and sometimes their entire administration. Cuba came under America's protection as a result of the Spanish War, and in 1902 the Cuban republic started business for itself. A string was tied to its independence, however, in the shape of the Platt amendment to the Cuban constitu-

tion, which gives the United States the right to intervene in Cuba when necessary to maintain peace and order. On two occasions it has been advisable for representatives of our government to straighten things out. Cuba's foreign relations must also be satisfactory to the United States.

During Roosevelt's administration San Domingo was also brought under the supervision of American officers. The Wilson administration found it necessary to deal in a similar way with Haiti and also made a treaty with Nicaragua, under which a similar intervention might take place if necessary. For some acts of our agents and soldiers we have been harshly criticized, yet there is no question that enormous good resulted from the intervention of the United States. During the disorders in Mexico in the years following 1913, certain elements demanded that we should intervene similarly in that country. It was truly a perplexing situation, but one could not feel that all the arguments for intervention were based wholly on an unselfish motive. The outcome of Mexico's troubles seems to indicate that in this case we were wise to stay out.

While we have no intention of annexing any of these republics which have just been mentioned, their status as *protectorates* under the United States seems likely to be permanent. We may look upon these as part of the obligations which have come to us in our rôle of big brother to the other republics of the new world. We have served humanity in a notable degree by assisting our weaker neighbors.

What sorts of people might object to American intervention in San Domingo and Haiti? Would our duty to intervene be any less if we knew that the people of these countries did not want us? Is there any reason why American administration in these smaller republics might be more successful than at home? Draw a clear distinction between a *territory*, a *possession*, and a *protectorate*.

279. Democracy and Empire. — The taking of the Philippines raised a new question in American politics. Mr. Bryan expressed it in about this fashion: "We cannot

make the Filipinos citizens without endangering our civilization; we cannot hold them as subjects without endangering our form of government." Is it, then, contrary to our Constitution and ideals to hold possessions which, however large a measure of self-government they have, are still subject to the final authority of our Congress?

In all our history we have consistently refused to give to the people of the territories a complete measure of self-government. Perhaps a still more notable example is the government of the District of Columbia. The citizens of the District do not vote for anybody or anything. The government of the District is entirely regulated by Congress and is administered by three commissioners appointed by the President. The cost of the government of the District is divided between the national treasury and local taxation.

Is this taxation without representation? If so, why do the people of the District and the people of the United States put up with it? A bill is now (1922) before Congress proposing to give the District representation in the House as a territory. Do you think this bill should be passed?

After all, the matter gets right down to the question of what is practicable. If our object in governing possessions, without allowing them the full rights of American citizenship or representation in our national government, is solely to give them the government that is best for them, surely we have not departed from our ideals. Training for self-government does not mean necessarily giving complete self-government in circumstances under which it could not be properly exercised. Our colonial policy as a whole has thus far been admirable. Surely it would be unfortunate if a democracy like ours could not help weaker peoples along the path toward self-government without giving it to them in full measure before they were fitted to enjoy it.

Is there any difference between the situation of the American colonies in 1773 and the Philippine Islands in 1898 or 1921? From a political point of view would you have any objection to living in

the District of Columbia? Is it right that people of the entire country should pay some of the bills for the government of the District? Suppose it should be shown beyond question that the people of the Philippine Islands really believe they are fitted to be independent, but the Congress of the United States does not believe they are qualified. Under the circumstances what seems to you the fairest way out of the disagreement? What ought we to do if we realized their fitness for independence, but felt that it would serve our interests best not to grant it?

∴ A period of preparation is often necessary to the most satisfactory enjoyment of self-government. Our territorial and colonial policy should always be, as it has been, essentially unselfish. Literal adherence to abstract ideals may sometimes be inconvenient and undesirable, but departure from them should occur only to promote the good of civilization in general.

SPECIAL STUDIES

The Northwest Territory Act of 1787.

Supreme Court Cases Dealing with the Status of Territory Acquired from Spain.

Alaska and Its Problems.

The People and the Islands of Hawaii.

Porto Rico and Its Problems.

The Government of the District of Columbia.

Resolved, that the Philippine Islands should receive their independence at once.

The Government of the Philippine Islands.

Administration in the Canal Zone.

The United States and Cuba.

American Protectorates in the West Indies.

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Hart — Actual Government, Chapters 19, 20.

Coolidge — United States as a World Power, Chapters 7, 8.

Haskin — American Government, Chapters 17, 19.

OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

"Happy are all free peoples, too strong to be dispossessed,
But blessed art thou among nations that darest to be strong for
the rest." — MRS. BROWNING.

No nation ever made itself felt as a potent factor in the improvement of the world or was long deserving to be characterized as progressive that attempted to live to itself alone. Even with all our natural resources and advantages which tempt us to think we are self-sufficient, we must not ignore this truth of history, and no intelligent American would wish to do so. What principles, then, ought to guide a nation in its dealings with others? What ideals and customs have guided our own foreign policy? What are the prospects for a world in which coöperation and understanding shall prevail among nations?

XXVI. ESTABLISHING SOUND PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT

280. A Nation's Obligations to Another. — "A nation is a group of people" — we need not carry the definition any further. From centuries of experience and the precepts of great teachers the world has built up a code of morals which, in its big features, is accepted wherever people call themselves civilized, to govern the relations of men with one another. We have observed, it is true, that men in groups sometimes act differently from men as individuals. But is there anything wrong with the idea that groups of men should be governed by the same moral code by which men are governed singly? To be frank, honest, fair, even generous, doing as it would be done by, is none too high a standard for a nation to maintain.

Unfortunately such ideals have not been common. Too often this definition of a diplomat was true: "A person

sent to lie abroad for the benefit of his country." National policies were directed not toward securing justice for the citizens of a nation, but toward the oppression or exploitation of other peoples, getting the better of them by fair means or foul. Yet not only ideals of morality among nations, but practical wisdom as well, urge that nations keep their word. The rest of the world will not care to have any more dealings than are necessary with the nation which cannot be trusted or with the nation that wants more than its share of the world's bounties.

Civilization is coming more and more to insist that the word of a nation should be at least as good as the word of an individual. The feeling that decent people have toward liars is not a bit more justifiable than the sentiment that the world at large should feel toward a treaty-breaking nation. America can afford to stand for nothing less than utter frankness in international politics, and for ideals as high as the highest. Call this "shirt-sleeve" diplomacy if you will; it is infinitely better than the "frock-coat" diplomacy which is as vile underneath as it is deceptive on the outside.

281. What Is International Law? — Poets and philosophers have dreamed about the time when

"The war drums throb no longer, and the battle flags are furled,
In the Parliament of man, the federation of the world."

No such parliament, with the authority to legislate for all the nations, has yet come into being. *International law*, then, is not binding legislation from some superior body, but a collection of principles and customs which the civilized world has come to accept as a sound basis for the relations of responsible nations with one another.

From the time of the Dutch jurist Grotius, we have had discussions or writings about the principles which ought to guide monarchs and governments in international affairs. Sometimes these principles have been set forth in formal treaties. Sometimes they have been established through

habitual observance by civilized nations under given conditions. During the years preceding the Great War a constantly growing respect for international law was evident among most nations. Perhaps nothing else turned most of the civilized world against Germany so much as her wanton disregard of some principles which had been looked upon as definitely established.

It is generally agreed, for instance, that a state, using the term in its broad and general sense, and not meaning one of the parts of our union, has the right to adopt any form of government which it wishes, and administer it according to the desires of its own people. At the same time it has the duty of protecting the persons and property of citizens of other states who may happen to reside within its borders. Ambassadors and other ministers from one country to another are exempt from the authority of the country to which they are sent, and whatever buildings and territory they occupy are looked upon as the soil of their own country. It is understood that a state's authority extends for three miles beyond its coast line, but that the seas outside of that three-mile limit are open to all the world. But pirates and others who violate the rights of the free seas may be dealt with by any nation.

A long list of provisions in regard to the duties of belligerents and neutrals in war can also be found in any textbook on international law. Indeed, nations seem to have cared more about fixing the rules of this horrible game than they have about establishing such principles of international conduct as would insure peace. Perhaps out of the horror and suffering of the Great War may have come such a disgust at what war brings that we may hope for the formulation of a code of international law for the promotion of peace and the prevention of hostilities. Whether this shall be done through the League of Nations or by some other means, the better part of the civilized world does not care, so long as it is done.

Why have nations been unwilling to form a world federation with a parliament that could legislate with authority? Upon what does international law rest for its effectiveness? Is it any more inconsistent, for the sake of world peace, to have an executive authority for the world with power to punish disturbers than it is to have policemen with authority to handle disturbers of local peace and order?

282. Foreign Representatives. — Every important country, in order to have easy and frequent contact with other nations, sends to them one or more representatives or agents. These are usually considered in two groups, the diplomatic service and the consular service. No diplomatic official is sent to any country until its government has agreed that a certain person is "*persona grata*." If, at any time, this particular person becomes "*persona non grata*," he may be asked to leave without any offense to the government which sent him. As a recognition of the importance of these diplomatic agents, any cases involving them must, under our Constitution, be tried before the Supreme Court.

Diplomatic representatives deal directly between their government and the government of the country to which they are sent. Often they assist in making treaties. The highest rank in the foreign service is that of *ambassador*; next, under our system, is the *envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary*. To some small countries we have sent officials known as *ministers resident*. Our ambassadors and ministers to large countries are assisted by a large number of subordinates. In case a diplomatic post is vacant for some reason, the highest of these subordinates, known as the *chargé d'affaires*, temporarily assumes the responsibility for the interests of his country.

The consular service is on a somewhat different basis from the diplomatic service. Consuls do not enjoy the benefit of "extritoriality," which is the name given to the special privilege of diplomats to be exempt from the authority of

the country to which they go ; but as long as they are engaged in the actual service of the country which they represent they are not likely to be interfered with by the country where they reside. The consul is, in a general way, the business agent of the home government, with headquarters in a certain city. It is his duty to be familiar with the business conditions in the district where he resides, to make reports to the home government on business opportunities



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THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON.

The British government has permanent homes for its ambassadors in all the leading capitals.

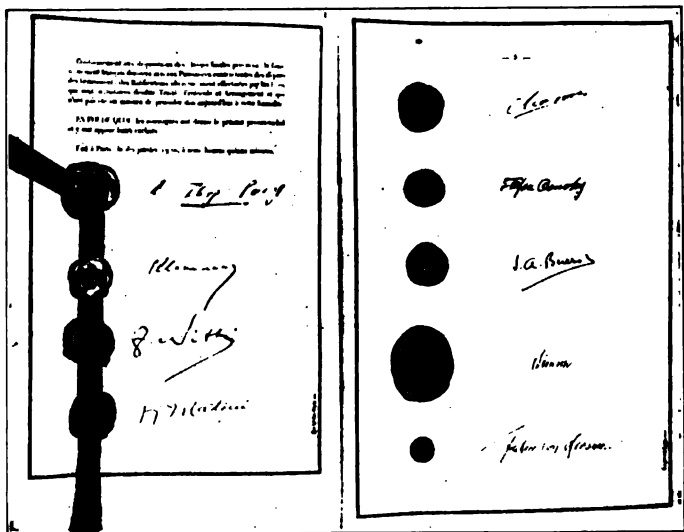
for Americans, and to certify the value of goods exported from his district so that our customs officers may be familiar with them. Consuls often render American citizens valuable service in the way of handling the passports which American citizens need when abroad, and giving legal advice. There are several hundred consuls of different grades. Sometimes a Consul-General is appointed to have general oversight of all the consuls in a particular country.

The prime qualifications of an ambassador are that he should have a large supply of common sense and be able to make himself generally agreeable in the country to which he goes. A man who would make an excellent ambassador to Great Britain might be wholly out of place somewhere else. The selection of diplomatic representatives must therefore be a personal matter. In recent years a considerable number of journalists and authors have represented us in high diplomatic positions.

The duties of consuls are, however, of such a character that a person's qualifications can to a large extent be determined by civil service examinations. It has been only recently that this country has paid any attention to the possibility of building up a permanent diplomatic and consular service composed of people who will make that their life work. Other countries have done this for many years. Experience in this kind of thing is certainly of great value and ought to be recognized by promotions the same as business efficiency would be in private life. The folly of changing the entire foreign service simply because a different party has carried a presidential election is so clear that it needs no arguments for intelligent people.

We have not always been able to secure the right kind of people for foreign service, because we have been so stingy about their salaries. Our ambassadors get \$17,500 a year, but their expenses for entertaining and many other things make it impossible for any one except a rich man to afford to accept such a position. Many foreign countries have built or purchased buildings for embassies in all the important capitals of the world, and we are at last beginning to do so. Frequently citizens of other countries are appointed as consuls to represent the United States in their particular neighborhood. Under all the circumstances it is surprising that America's foreign relations have been conducted as successfully as they have. We ought not to use diplomatic posts as rewards for political activity.

Americans used to be afraid to use the name "ambassador" because they thought it signified monarchy. Was this sensible? Do you think there would be any difficulty if a Chinese merchant attempted to act as American consul in a Chinese town? What personal characteristics would disqualify a person from being an ambassador? Would it be advisable for the American ambassador to Great Britain to tell the British government what he thought they ought to do about Ireland? What are some of the things that



SIGNATURES TO A TREATY.

International.

These signatures certify the exchange of ratifications among the nations which accepted the Versailles treaty. On the left page Lloyd George of Great Britain, Clemenceau of France, Nitti of Italy and Matsui of Japan signed. At the bottom of the right page are the signatures of the two German representatives.

none of an ambassador's business? Find out the names of the ambassadors whom the present administration has appointed. Have any of these served before? What particular qualifications, if any, do any of them have for the positions they hold?

83. Making International Agreements. — Prime ministers and foreign secretaries sometimes enter into "gentleman's agreements" or "conventions" between countries.

But these usually concern details of policies or methods of administration rather than the determination of big issues.

The most common form of agreement between nations is the *treaty*. This is a written document drawn up and signed by representatives of the countries concerned. Most treaties, of course, are arranged between two countries only, but sometimes a great many are interested. The Peace Treaty at Versailles, for example, after the Great War, was signed by representatives of thirty-three nations and dominions. Such a treaty is naturally extremely difficult to arrange. Often it is not easy to get even two nations to harmonize their ideas sufficiently to agree upon disputed points.

A treaty, under the Constitution of the United States, after it has been accepted by the Senate, becomes a part of the supreme law of the land. In the majority of countries only the executive authority has any part in the making of a treaty and putting it into effect, though there is a tendency now, even when it is not required, to ask the law-making body for its approval. In the countries where a cabinet government exists, a cabinet which makes a treaty contrary to the wishes of the law-making body will not stay in office very long.

With all the solemn authority that is attached to a treaty, what is the force which assures its execution? Virtually nothing but the honor and common sense of the nations which have had a part in making it. In the Covenant of the League of Nations appear provisions for an economic boycott by the League of any nation which goes to war in violation of its agreements, but fortunately there has been no occasion to test the effectiveness of such a sanction. The very fact that such a penalty is threatened may help to prevent the need of using it. Treaties sometimes, however, contain provisions that their terms are to expire at a certain time, or that either party may withdraw from the agreement after a fixed date.

∴ International obligations ought to be as binding morally as agreements between individuals, even though enforcement of treaties by superior authority is, in the present stage of social progress, difficult to accomplish. Foreign representatives should be men of tact and judgment. Diplomacy might well be made a life career for those who are fitted to undertake it.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Famous Writers on International Law.

The Life of an Ambassador.

Conditions of Admission into Our Foreign Service.

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XXVII. DETERMINING THE FUNDAMENTALS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

While some principles are universally applicable in international relations, each nation has its own particular outlook upon world politics. Has this country displayed a definite, continuous foreign policy? By whom are our foreign relations conducted? What features in general characterize our attitude toward the rest of the world?

284. Is a Settled Policy Desirable? — "Party division," it has been said, "should end at the water's edge." More often than not this has been the case, and when the principle has been disregarded the results have been exceedingly unpleasant. Foreign affairs are not proper subjects for party action, if for no other reason than that they concern other countries as well as ourselves. Differences of opinion will of course occur about foreign as well as about domestic policies, but it is best if such differences cut across party lines rather than along them.

New conditions may arise at any time to modify any plan of action, but a policy of drifting is dangerous. We have ridiculed England's alleged habit of "muddling through." Yet in this country we have often done our full share of muddling, and it has been wittily said that "our main foreign policy has been the absence of any." Sometimes it may be best to bide one's time before taking decisive measures; a choice of policy ought to be deliberate rather than accidental. But it is safest for ourselves and fairest to other countries to map out our policies with sufficient definiteness so that others may know where to find us. Yet no policy needs to bind us like shackles to the conditions of by-gone days. "New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth."

285. The Control of Our Foreign Relations. — The actual direction of our foreign policy, both by Constitution and by necessity, is in the hands of the President. Some one person must accept the responsibility. He may be guided by as much advice as he cares to take, but the final decision must be his. The President's control of foreign affairs rests upon three things: his right to appoint ambassadors and other foreign representatives; his right to receive



AMERICAN TREATY-MAKERS AT PARIS.

Usually in the making of particularly important treaties the work is done by a commission rather than by one man. The American members of the Peace Conference in 1919 as shown in this picture were, beginning at the left: Mr. E. M. House, Secretary of State Lansing, President Wilson, Mr. Henry White, and General Bliss.

envoys from other countries; and his power of making treaties.

On the right to name ambassadors and ministers and to receive or refuse to receive them rests in a large measure the peacefulness or the precariousness of our foreign relations. The case of Mexico during the Wilson administration is another illustration of the exercise of this power. By refusing to have anything to do officially with the Mexican government headed by General Huerta, President Wilson forced that gentleman out of office and, while abstain-

ing from extensive military intervention, exercised much influence on the course of events in Mexico.

Sending home a representative already recognized by this government may mean disapproval of either the policy of the government which sent them here, or of their personal misconduct or indiscretion. The cases of "Citizen" Genêt in 1793 and of the Austrian Ambassador Dumba in 1914, are instances of the latter reason, but the dismissal of Von Bernstorff in 1917 was intended to show our dissatisfaction with the breaches of faith committed by the German government.

The Constitution declares that the President shall make treaties "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." President Wilson was entirely within his rights in participating in the treaty-making at Versailles, but the making of treaties has so seldom been done by the President himself that many people thought he was exceeding his authority. Usually the Secretary of State, an ambassador, or some special representative, actually does the work.

Why did President McKinley refuse to receive officially the representatives from the South African republics in 1899? What would have been the effect on our relations with Great Britain if he had done so? If Great Britain should recognize the independence of the Philippines, how would our government be likely to feel about it? Why is a President likely to adhere in general to most of the policies of his predecessor in foreign affairs?

But how is the Senate to give its "advice and consent"? Washington, during his presidency, undertook once to go to the Senate to talk over a proposed treaty, but enjoyed his visit so little that he said he "would be damned if he ever went there again." Since that time, Presidents have negotiated treaties and then submitted them to the Senate. The tactful President, however, will consult in advance with the Foreign Relations Committee or other leading members of the Senate. Thus he will discover what the

mind of the Senate is and may make use of any intelligent suggestions which they have to offer.

The Senate has established by numerous precedents the right to ratify with reservations or omissions. If the Senate makes use of this privilege, it is then for the President to decide whether he will make the best of what is left of the treaty, and for the other countries concerned to determine whether they will accept the treaty as modified by the Senate. The unfairness of requiring a *two-thirds* vote for ratification we have already mentioned; but this restriction is in the Constitution, and the only practical thing to do is for the President to recognize it and make the necessary allowances when he has treaties under consideration.

The House of Representatives has little or nothing to say directly about foreign affairs. When a treaty calls for a payment of money to carry it into execution, the appropriation of this money must have the consent of both houses of Congress. An interesting situation might arise if the House refused to pass such an appropriation. A declaration of war, too, must be made by a joint resolution of *both* houses of Congress.

Does Congress have the right to declare peace as well as war? Until 1920 the answer would in all probability have been "No," but the controversy between the President and the Senate over the Peace Treaty led Congress to attempt to do so. Its first resolution to that effect was vetoed by President Wilson, but a modified resolution was afterward signed by President Harding. The awkward situation that might arise under such circumstances, if the other nation did not admit that the war was over, may have been a reason which deterred President Harding from proclaiming peace until a treaty with Germany was actually signed. A treaty is the only satisfactory method to end a war.

Would it be wise for the President to ask representatives of the Senate to assist him in treaty making? Would the Senate be justified in rejecting a treaty because of personal or political dislike of the President? Do you suppose that the provision for senatorial ratification of treaties encourages or discourages other countries in making treaties with us? Should the Senate exercise its right of

approval of appointments in such way as to control the selection of ambassadors to other countries? For what reasons might the President be unwilling to discuss treaties in advance before the entire Senate?

286. The Policies of Our Forefathers. — With all the crooks and turns of diplomacy and party history, three definite principles have marked our relations with other countries: (1) We have insisted on a right to make up our own minds and to follow a policy of independent choice in our relations with other countries. (2) We have generally annexed new territory when the opportunity has been offered. (3) We have assumed a sort of position of domination in New World affairs.

Washington and Jefferson set precedents which have been observed from their day to ours. Washington's Farewell Address declared that we must avoid "a permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world." Jefferson's phrase, "peace and friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none," also summed up our country's aspirations in a few words.

This phrase, "entangling alliances," has been often quoted in recent years in such a way as to suggest a policy of isolation and separation from world affairs which Washington and Jefferson no doubt never intended. Washington's advice against "permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world" surely did not mean that we should avoid friendly association with other nations to promote peace. He wished us to avoid alliances with one part of Europe against another part of Europe. Jefferson's thought of "peace and friendship with all nations" surely was in accord with the idea of a league of nations to prevent war.

What would have been the result if Washington had yielded to the clamor of his time to aid the French Revolutionists in their war against Great Britain? Prove from the history of the United States that the policies mentioned in this section have not been the policies of any one political party. Do you think Washington and Jefferson, in announcing the foreign policy of their day, had in mind the

setting of a precedent that would last forever? Would it necessarily follow that a policy which was wise in their day would be desirable today?

The Monroe Doctrine, too, is considered by most Americans to be a sacred proposition, though few of them can tell exactly what it means. Besides, Presidents have not always been consistent in their application of it. But its big, general principles may be stated as follows: (1) that the New World must be free from European interference in working out its own destiny; (2) that it is this country's



Courtesy Bureau of Construction and Repair.

A UNITED STATES SUBMARINE.

During the War not much was said by way of compliment to the submarine except in Germany. But since that time some other nations have strangely discovered that they have uses for the kind of warfare that the submarine can practice. Can you offer any explanation for this change of mind?

right to interpose its objection to any act of an Old World power which we believe menaces the security or independence of a New World republic; (3) that the United States will refrain from meddling with strictly European affairs. South American countries have not been any too favorable to the extension of this policy, because they have feared that it might be used as a cover for designs on the part of the United States to control the entire New World. But it has become established as one of the cardinal features of our diplomacy, and was recognized in the Covenant of the League of Nations as a policy not to be questioned.

Great Britain desired to make a joint statement of policy with the United States at the time the Monroe Doctrine was announced. Was anything gained by the decision of Secretary of State Adams to make our statement alone? To what extent is the Monroe Doctrine selfish? Would Japan have the right to set up a similar doctrine for Eastern Asia? Would it be desirable to substitute for the Monroe Doctrine, maintained by the United States alone, a Pan-American doctrine supported by the republics of North and South America jointly?

287. The United States a World Power. — The readiness with which other nations listen to proposals coming from the government of the United States proves beyond question that the United States is one of the great powers of the earth. Whether we like it or not, there is no use in attempting to keep out of the great questions whose settlement perplexes the civilized world.

When did we become a world power? Was the change the result of some single event, or was it a gradual development accompanying our material advancement and economic expansion? Probably the latter. Yet the Spanish War and its results mark, if not the change in our world relations, at least the realization of our new position. Any strong power in the Philippines is inevitably concerned with the problems of Eastern Asia, and when a government is concerned with Asiatic problems it cannot help coming in contact with the foreign problems of Europe too.

Is American interference in Asiatic affairs a violation of the Monroe Doctrine? Is it inconsistent for us to take and hold the Philippines when we protest against the acquisition of China's territory by European powers and Japan?

In August, 1914, one of our leading weekly magazines, which afterwards violently attacked President Wilson for not going into the war sooner, commented on things in about this fashion: "The President has issued a proclamation of neutrality. Good! This is not our war." No doubt this remark is representative of the feelings of the

great mass of the American people at the time. Even those whose sympathies were strong for one side or the other had little hope that this country would take part. Possibly if Germany had refrained from violating the rights of neutral nations, including ourselves, it would have been more difficult for us to appreciate the menace to civilization which her victory would have carried with it. But when our own rights were so grossly disregarded, we were able to understand the wrongs which the Allies had suffered and the seriousness of the threat of German militarism against every civilized nation.

Our contact with our Allies during the war brought us into relationships such as we had not previously known in our history. Unfortunately the making of peace was even harder than the making of war. But having joined in common cause with the allied nations we cannot return to that position of isolation which, as we have said, so many of our politicians have admired. The thoughtful American has come to realize that a menace to civilization anywhere is a menace to civilization everywhere, and he will neither believe nor desire that America will refrain from coöperation with the rest of the civilized world in its defense.

Considered from the financial viewpoint alone, would it have been better for the United States to stay out of the war or to go in? What warrant could there be for the assertion that the motives of the United States for taking part in the war were wholly selfish? Could a true American take any pride in the belief that selfish interest alone inspired this nation's conduct?

∴ The divided control of foreign relationships between the President and the Senate makes complete uniformity and harmony in such matters at times difficult. It has always been our policy to refrain from meddling in problems of other nations which did not concern us, and this policy we have no desire to abandon. But we must realize that circumstances have forced us into participation in world problems and that it would be folly to try to avoid the resulting responsibilities.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Epoch-Making Treaties in American History.

Treaties and the Senate.

Presidential Leadership in Foreign Relations.

The History and Significance of the Monroe Doctrine.

The Spanish War as a Factor in American History and Policies.

The Great War from the American Viewpoint.

REFERENCE READINGS

Young — American Government, Chapter 2.

Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapter 41.

Fish — American Diplomacy, Chapters 1, 17, 30, 36.

Coolidge — The United States as a World Power, Chapters 4-6.

Munro — Government of the United States, Chapter 18.

Bryce — American Commonwealth, Chapters 96, 116.

Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 27.

Beard — American Government and Politics, Chapters 16, 17.

Hart — Actual Government, Chapters 23, 25.

XXVIII. PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL COÖPERATION AND GOOD WILL

Nations that are constantly quarreling retard civilization and hinder world progress. What steps have been taken to relieve or remove the burdens of war and promote good will instead of ill will? What has been and ought to be the relation of the United States to such movements?

288. International Ill-feeling and Its Results. — The history of Europe has been to a sad degree a story of racial jealousy, of struggles for mastery by one monarch over another, of religious bigotry and bitterness, of conflicts growing out of trade relations and colonial possessions. Injustice and mistakes of past centuries are kept alive to no good end. When nations act together in war or otherwise, we sometimes cynically wonder how they will line up the next time there is a war, and what excuse they will have for fighting.

What is the result? Europe for years has been "an armed camp." As soon as one war is over, its "statesmen" begin to prepare for the next one. Little nations are freed from tyrants and proceed to act as unreasonably as tyrants ever acted. Inherited jealousies are brought to our shores, and we are quick to impute evil motives to other powers. Among the most active of our citizens are several millions who cannot forget the relations between England and Ireland in the past. There are several millions more whose thought of Great Britain has been colored by opinions spread deliberately by Germany in the days before the Great War or acquired through an inherited distrust. A very considerable portion of our people, therefore, do not need to be urged to entertain unfavorable

thoughts about Great Britain. "Twisting the British lion's tail" has been a favorite pastime with some politicians.

And yet, if the United States and Great Britain, with a common language and common institutions, cannot be friends and understand each other and coöperate for the advancement of civilization, what hope is there of world peace? We need not deny British mistakes, but many of



Courtesy Bureau of Construction and Repair.

A UNITED STATES BATTLESHIP IN HOLIDAY DRESS.

This ship never did and never will take part in a fight. What do you think of the wisdom in spending money to construct it?

us need to realize that England is not always wrong and perhaps has not been wrong so often as we have thought.

Toward Japan we have wavered between extreme friendliness and extreme suspicion. The yellow journals in both countries constantly preach race hatred. Yet for their own sake and the sake of humanity these two nations also ought to be friends.

Concerning our neighbors of the New World we have

assumed a position of superiority which has not been good for them nor for us. It has led us to overlook opportunities for commercial development and trade relations which would be distinctly to our advantage and has bred a suspicion of our good will which has caused them to seek commercial relations with Europe rather than with us. We need greater appreciation of the advancement of some of these New World republics. The A B C powers, so called, have built up a material civilization which is much to their credit. We are perhaps too prone to think that they are all like Mexico, and perhaps have not appreciated all the handicaps that both Mexico and the rest have had to overcome in the process of development.

When representatives of different foreign countries visit the United States, which are received with the greatest show of enthusiasm? Why did the visit of the king and queen of Belgium bring out so many exhibitions of respect and good will? The mayor of Milwaukee refused to permit official honors to be given to King Albert in his visit in that city. Can you imagine his reasons? To what extent should a nation's past mistakes affect us in our judgment today? If a nation treats us fairly, what should be our attitude when she is accused of treating some other people unjustly? To what extent are newspapers responsible for our likes and dislikes of other nations? How can we eliminate hate from our thought of other people? Is it true that Americans are an aggregation of haters?

289. Militarism — Wisdom or Folly? — Perhaps the first object for which government is formed is that of self-defense. If a government does not protect its people from harm at the hands of enemies, outside or within, it might about as well not exist. For this reason we have our army and navy, our state militia, our state constabulary, our sheriffs, our constables, and our policemen. As long as evil exists in the world, so long will it be necessary either to be prepared to overcome it or to submit tamely to it.

But for years the nations of continental Europe have taken two or three years of the lives of their young men to

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train them to be "cannon fodder." The burden of their colossal armies and navies was crushing. Now we are on the safe side of a horrible war which left victorious France and Italy loaded with a debt nearly equal to half their entire wealth. Yet France insists that she must have the right to build more submarines and other small craft than ever, while still maintaining the biggest army in the world against the "German menace." The United States alone



WHAT WAR DOES.

A scene from Northern France during the Great War. These American boys have been brought to this church as to a place of refuge. But the church itself has also suffered from German guns. Does the Figure in the picture on the wall seem out of place?

voted in 1921 to spend about \$700,000,000 on her army and navy. Are all these preparations needed for defense? Are conditions within the various countries so completely chaotic that these enormous armaments must be maintained to keep the peace?

No, these armies and navies exist not because one nation wants to attack another nation now, but because, in years

past, nations thought some other nation might want to attack them; and so to protect themselves against possible enemies they have burdened themselves with expenses grievous to be borne. A few nations have concealed plans for the domination of the world under cover of this need of defense. Such was the guilt of the rulers of the German Empire. But now German military power has been crushed. Has any other succeeded to it as a menace to civilization?

Some people talk much about "preparedness." They say it is better to spend a little more than we need for defense today if by so doing we may save ourselves from the enemy tomorrow. But when one nation prepares itself with no enemy in view, other nations, with the same excuse, prepare themselves similarly.

The only sensible policy is for all the great nations to get together and agree that they will spend no more for armies and navies than they need for actual protection against such violators of all order as pirates, anarchists and the like. We cannot wonder very much that one nation feels that it does not wish to be the first to disarm. Its weakness might serve as a temptation to some other power, which would not occur if all were on an equal footing. But if all alike reduce their fighting force to the lowest point consistent with the maintenance of domestic safety, every nation will not only be as well off as it has been, but infinitely more secure.

From your study of history what would you judge to be the most frequent cause of war? Why are the great heroes of so many nations military men? Are we setting a good example in making military men our national heroes? What wars do you know of which resulted definitely in good for mankind? Could this benefit have been derived without war? Is the world safer for democracy than in 1914? What forces are not likely to be in favor of movements for world peace? Can a person be a sincere advocate of military and naval preparedness on a large scale and at the same time of international peace? As nearly as you can judge, is the Great War

going to produce as many national heroes as other wars in history? Whom and why? Will prolonged peace make men "soft"? Who pays the cost of war? What is the attitude of the Church and of business toward it? Why? What is the effect of war on men's spiritual attitudes?

290. Peaceful Settlements between Nations. — When we study the history of the United States and observe that there has been at least one war in every generation, we may wonder whether our boasted love of peace is merely empty words. Yet in looking over our diplomatic relations and comparing them with those of other countries we shall find few nations with cleaner records. Many disputes which were at least as serious as those which have caused bloody wars were settled peacefully and on American initiative. Be careful to distinguish the peaceful settlements of disputes from arbitration. Disputes can be, and are, settled many times by the parties directly concerned. Many of our boundary settlements with Great Britain are examples of this kind of thing; but when we call in representatives of outside parties, supposedly impartial and disinterested — then we have *arbitration*.

The first instance of arbitration in our diplomatic policy was found in the Jay treaty of 1794, and it worked successfully. But the one which furnished in the greatest degree a precedent for the world was the means adopted in 1871 to settle the dispute over the Alabama Claims and the other questions that had arisen between our government and that of Great Britain. Though neither party was fully satisfied with the awards, who would pretend that either would be better off in any respect if the two nations had gone to war over this difficulty? It is not strange, therefore, that Secretary Hay, in McKinley's administration, and, later, President Taft were willing to enter into arbitration agreements which would virtually agree upon the use of this method in settling all controversies between the two countries.

That every peacefully disposed nation is convinced of

the desirability of arbitration as a means of settling disputes is seen in the readiness with which they entered into the establishment of the Hague Court. This was the outgrowth of the Hague Peace Conference of 1899, summoned unexpectedly by the Czar of Russia. The United States took a prominent and active part in that conference and in the second Hague Conference of 1907. The establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice is a further step in advance in that its members are definitely chosen for their particular work, and that the Court has regular sessions for the consideration of cases that may be brought before it.

The farthest we have succeeded in getting the United States Senate to go in ratifying arbitration treaties was in 1913 and 1914, when treaties prepared by Secretary Bryan with over thirty countries were successfully put through. Mr. Bryan's idea was that if nations had time to think things over when a quarrel was threatened, their better judgment would cause them to refrain from going to war. In these arbitration treaties of his, therefore, the nations agreed not to go to war until after an arbitration commission had investigated the controversy. It was provided that the report of such a commission must be made within a reasonable time.

Do you think our wars with foreign countries could have been settled by arbitration? Whose fault was it that they were not? In some arbitration treaties it is provided that a nation is not obliged to submit to arbitration questions of national honor and vital interest. What kind of controversies would come under these heads? Could this government safely agree to arbitrate all questions with some countries and not with others? Is there any dispute likely to arise between nations like the United States, Great Britain, and France which could not be arbitrated? Is it better that each nation should make its own arbitration treaties with each other nation or that all peacefully disposed nations should unite under a common plan for arbitration? Is the world more anxious for peace today than in 1914? 1918? 1919? Is world peace nearer now? What is pacifism? Is it merely a negative virtue, if any?

291. The League of Nations. — Many thoughtful men of all parties, in this country and elsewhere, have felt that the surest way to prevent war is to unite all well-disposed nations under some form of agreement in which they vow to respect one another's rights and coöperate for the promotion of the peace of the world. Before the United States went into the Great War President Wilson delivered a notable address to the Senate urging the establishment of a League of Nations, suggesting that the principle of the Monroe Doctrine should be applied to the entire world. In the making of the Versailles Peace Treaty the President thought he saw an opportunity to bring into being such a League, for he counted on the frightfulness of the war to make the people of all the world ready to join in any movement to prevent war. He succeeded in securing as the first article of the Versailles treaty the Covenant of the League of Nations. Though various influences conspired to prevent the ratification of the treaty by our Senate in a form acceptable to the President, fifty-five nations have thus far become members of the League.

The organization of the League is comparatively simple. Every member may send delegates to the Assembly, in which matters of international concern may be discussed and in which every member may have one vote, but action in all important matters must be unanimous. The executive authority of the League is vested in the Council, which in important matters can act only by unanimous vote. This Council originally included representatives of nine nations, among them the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan. Additions have since been made so that fourteen are now represented. The Secretary-General has charge of keeping the records of the League, the publication of treaties, and other clerical duties. The League's headquarters are at Geneva. Provision was also made for the creation of a Court of International Justice to which nations may now refer disputes for settlement.

Various provisions in the League Covenant are intended to insure every nation's making every reasonable attempt to settle disagreements peaceably. If a nation should begin hostilities in violation of its agreements, or any nation not a member of the League attack a member, the offending nation is to suffer an economic boycott from all the other members of the League, until it can be determined whether any further measures are in order.

Provision is also made for international coöperation for mutual betterment in a number of matters. Existing international agencies are to be brought under the League as far as possible. No treaties between members are to be valid until published by the Secretary-General. Colonies taken from Germany during the War are intrusted to various members of the League under a "mandate," which makes these members responsible for the administration of the colonies and requires them to make reports to the League of their administration.

The League has suffered considerable criticism for not immediately bringing peace to the world, as if the racial ill-feeling stirred up by the war could be quieted at once by the creation of a new organization. It is, of course, an experiment. It has already settled some disputes between nations and has shown possibilities of great service if the nations that compose it are sincere in their profession of desire for world peace. Quite likely some modifications of the League Covenant will be made in the hope of inducing the United States to accept membership.

The provision of the League Covenant most harshly criticized in the United States was Article X. Read it and see if you find anything dangerous to the independence or interests of the United States. What modifications of the League Covenant, if any, would in your opinion improve it? If the leading powers of Europe saw nothing in the League Covenant to menace their sovereignty or vital interests, why need the United States have any worry about it? Would it have been better to have kept the League Covenant and the peace treaty separate?

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292. How Far Can We Hope to Go ? — President Harding would not permit the United States to join the League of Nations. Yet he and Secretary of State Hughes knew that this country could not be true to either its ideals or its interests if it refused to coöperate with other countries to prevent war. They therefore invited the nations which had interests in the region of the Pacific Ocean to attend a conference at Washington to consider the reduction of armaments and the problems of the Pacific.



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THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS AT THE WASHINGTON ARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

From left to right the gentlemen standing are: Mr. Garrett, Secretary of the Conference; Dr. Karnebeek of Holland; Dr. Sze of China; Mr. Balfour of Great Britain; Secretary Hughes; Premier Briand of France; Mr. Schanzer of Italy; Baron de Cartier of Belgium; Prince Tokugawa of Japan; Count D'Alte of Portugal.

At the opening of the conference on November 12, 1921, Secretary Hughes surprised the world by a very specific plan for the reduction of the navies of the great powers. In its general outline this was accepted by all the interested nations and several treaties affecting their common problems were agreed upon.

Both Presidents Harding and Coolidge urged that the United States should support the so-called World Court without joining the League itself. After prolonged discussion our Senate finally agreed to do so, but with numerous "reservations" which must be accepted by all the nations supporting the Court before our adherence would go into effect. President Coolidge has also encouraged our coöperation directly in several conferences held under the direction of the League of Nations.

Out of the sometimes disappointing events of recent years certain facts appear to be plain: The common people all over the world want peace, but some statesmen have learned little from the horrors of the last few years.

Material reduction in armies and navies will not take place except by general agreement of the nations. In several conferences looking toward disarmament planned by the League of Nations, the burden of discussion has been that unless nations were assured of security they could not take chances on reducing materially their armies and navies.

Nations do not trust one another sufficiently to permit at present the creation of a world federation or superstate. Any idea that the League of Nations is such is foolish, in view of the requirement of a unanimous vote in both the Council and Assembly on matters of policy. No nation is willing to give up its sovereignty. Moreover, there is honest disagreement as to whether such a superstate, if possible, would be desirable; for coöperation would be easier to secure than consolidation, and would still allow each nation to retain full control over its own destiny and to develop its own powers freely.

Our work, then, must be to remove the causes of international ill-feeling as far as possible. We must urge a "forgive and forget" policy in regard to a nation's past mistakes, whenever it shows the right spirit today. We must by constant conference and coöperation exhibit our own frankness and honesty and good will. We must cut down

to the extreme limit of safety our armies and navies, both to protect our own pocket-books and to remove from nations any excuse for fooling with dangerous weapons.

And "we" means every nation on the face of the earth. We can go at least this far *now*. And we ought to go further as soon as we can.

How greatly does economic distress in one country affect another? Why did America sympathize with starving Europe during the War? Should we have any less sympathy today?

Does a high development of national spirit promote peace or war? Can one be a true patriot and still have international sympathies? Does a man have to hate other women in order to love his wife?

293. America's Opportunity. — The besetting sin of many Americans is conceit. We are the richest people in the world and we advertise the fact. We have lofty ideals of government and we let everybody know it. We have a kind of disdain for the quarrelsomeness of European nations, and are inclined to think of many of them as on a distinctly lower plane of humanity. We have exhibited in a marked degree a spirit of generosity toward the sufferings of the rest of the world and a sympathy with struggle against oppression. Perhaps if we can learn to render our good turns in a spirit of brotherhood rather than of charity, our kind-heartedness may make still more directly for the peace of the world and the uplift of humanity. In our trade and other international relationships we have habitually asked only the opportunities which we are willing that other nations should have — "a fair field and no favors." Particularly is this exemplified in Secretary Hay's "open door" policy in China, which brought us the good will of China and the respect of the civilized world.

They grossly misrepresented us who said that we entered the Great War simply "to save our own hide." "O'er the seas there came a pleading" — small nations had suffered without cause, free civilization was menaced by mili-

tary autocracy — and this call touched the hearts of millions of Americans far more deeply than any consideration of self-interest. True enough, after the strain of the Great War was over, how quickly some of our splendid devotion and sacrifice subsided! "We have done enough for England," some said. "No more Red Cross for me — I can play bridge again," rejoiced another. "Now I am going to have what I want; Europe doesn't interest me," said a third group.

Few nations have so many opportunities for world leadership as have been offered to the United States. President Wilson became the spokesman of the Allies during the last eighteen months of the War. Even though our treatment of the Peace Treaty seemed to many real friends of America all over the world a piece of consummate folly, the nations were still delighted to respond to President Harding's call for the Washington Conference. With American trade reaching every part of the world and American ideals of government raising aspirations or attaining realization everywhere, it would be utmost folly to fail to appreciate our opportunity for leading the world to a higher plane of policy and program than it has thus far reached. The very fact that we for so long kept out of the civil quarrels of other continents gives us, now that the perplexities of one portion of the world have become the perplexities of all, a chance and a duty to show the way toward world peace and righteousness.

Which of the ten most important questions before the present administration are questions with which in some degree Washington had to deal? Which of these are purely domestic questions and which involve our relations with other countries? Are any of these questions purely and solely American problems? Why is no other nation in exactly the same position with reference to world leadership as the United States?

For, after all, every nation in the world respects the United States, — its material greatness, its political princi-

ples, its fundamental ideals. They believe that John Hay's diplomacy of telling the truth is distinctly American and that when we take a stand on any policy it is not because we have "an ax to grind." Not one of them cares to have the people of the United States think harshly of its motives or purposes. Their desire for American friendship is sincere, and not always, by any means, based on a consideration of their own advantage. Surely we need not have any fear that any nation, East or West, white or yellow, will deliberately pursue a policy of hostility toward us. They want us to lead the way. Are we going to disappoint them?

For how many reasons is it to the interest of European countries to keep on good terms with the United States? Is there anything in the history of any of the countries of Europe which would explain, if it did not excuse, the seeming selfishness of their foreign policy? Has this country experienced in its history the same kind of complications which have produced unpleasant relations between countries of Europe? Has an American the right to think that we alone are inspired in our foreign affairs by the desire to do the best thing?

∴ The great need of the world is better understanding and less selfishness among nations. The reduction of armaments is both sound economy and sound ethics. International coöperation through international association and conference should be cultivated as an important means of bringing peace and good will.

SPECIAL STUDIES

Famous Writers on International Law.

The Hague Peace Conferences.

The United States and China.

The Opening of Japan.

Armies and Navies of the Nations in 1914.

The Accomplishments of the League of Nations.

Obstacles in the Way of World Peace.

Famous Cases of Arbitration in Which the United States Was Interested.

The Monroe Doctrine, a Menace or a Safeguard to World Peace? Resolved, that a Pan-American doctrine maintained jointly by the republics of the New World should supplant the Monroe Doctrine.

**The United States and Mexico since 1911.
Mandates under the League of Nations.
The Washington Conference.**

REFERENCE READINGS

**Covenant of the League of Nations.
Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapters 41, 42.
Haskin — American Government, Chapter 29.
Coolidge — United States as a World Power, Chapters 10-19.
Young — New American Government, Chapter 12.**

THE AMERICA TO BE

We have been discussing the problems of America as they have been and as they are today. In the way we solve these problems we determine what the America of tomorrow will be. What shall we do with our opportunities? What hope is there of solving these problems rightly?

294. **Selfishness or Usefulness?** — In a book which most of us ought to know better than we do, is the story of an employer who went away on a trip and turned over to his employees various sums of money to be used in business enterprise. When he came back he found that two of the three had used their money in such a way as to double it. One had simply kept it, and returned it unused. Of course, it was a little to the third man's credit that he had not squandered the money left in his charge, but he was supposed to use it in a profitable investment.

We noticed at the beginning of our study that the United States is a nation to which many talents have been intrusted — natural resources, people of varied interests and capacities, and a situation that enables us to develop ourselves as far as any nation can do so without serious danger from outside interference. To say that we have used all these talents so as to get the highest possible service from them would surely not be true. But it has been well said, "It is always too late to be what you might have been; it is never too late to be what you may become." Our duty, then, is to go ahead in the light of the experience we have gained, and endeavor in the future to make the best possible use of the privileges and advantages that are ours. The fellow who always says "It can't be done" is a nuisance and a curse.

"America first" is a slogan that has been uttered many times in the last few years, particularly since the war pointed out to us the fact that America was not first in the loyalty of some who are nominally citizens of the United States. "America first" in what sense? By all means "America first" in the loyalty and devotion of every citizen, as far as that signifies devotion to our flag and our country against any and all enemies. But "America first" should not signify selfishness. It should not mean that we care nothing for the rest of humanity.

In our thought of the world's needs we can afford to remember the advantages we enjoy in comparison to those of other nations. Whether it be making contributions to relieve their suffering, or endeavoring to help them solve the problems that they have been unable to solve, we need to let our doctrine of "America first" expand into such a practice that it may mean first in service as well as in privilege.

We are so bound by ties of commerce that the destruction of one nation's trade brings disadvantage to every other nation's business. A policy of selfishness in any phase of a nation's activities will react against the nation which is guilty of it. It is a mistaken idea which makes us fear to raise the standard of labor in Japan. Whether it be in education, in spiritual enlightenment, or in material prosperity, the uplift of one nation aids every other.

What is the motive back of missionary enterprise in foreign lands? May a business man, trading abroad, be a missionary of morals as well as of commerce? Does the policy of trade restrictions upon the products of other countries encourage attempts at international good will? In what senses was the Chinese famine in 1920-1921 a world problem? How does economic distress in one country affect another?

Make a clear definition of *Americanism*.

295. Our Hope for Solving Our Problems. — We can do things in two ways — by mass action, and by individual enterprise. We can do some things best in one way and

some in another. The people who make the most progress are those in whom both forms of activity are most widely developed — those who have the initiative and energy to do things themselves, and those who know how to coöperate with others to bring things to pass.

The following list of essential elements of democracy¹ aims to set forth ideals for which we should strive:

(1) *Democratic self-assertiveness* in seeking to make the fullest use of our talents and privileges "both alone and with others."

(2) *Equal rights and opportunities*, since equal abilities and achievements are impossible.

(3) *Personal responsibility* for the rights, opportunities, and duties of both one's self and others.

(4) *Equivalent service* as an obligation upon all in return for benefits received.

(5) *Equality through highest effort*, when each does the best he can, even though he cannot do as much as some one else.

(6) *Majority rule for the common welfare* and not for the interest of any group or section.

(7) *The surrender of individual rights conflicting with the common welfare and the safeguarding of individual rights which do not conflict.* Loyalty to the highest group to which we belong may justly call for sacrifice on the part of smaller groups. The advancement of our club, our lodge, our party, our denomination, even our city or our state, must not cause us to disregard the rights of other similar groups or the general welfare of all.

(8) *Leveling up* in society and industry instead of leveling down.

(9) *Self-effort essential* to accomplishment in any line.

(10) *Democratic compulsion* so that each individual will

¹ Paraphrased from a report of a committee of the National Council of Education, Professor A. D. Yocum, Chairman.

cheerfully submit to superior wisdom and rightful authority. Social control of the means of promoting the general welfare is desirable and necessary. As Professor Young has pointed out, we are getting away from the idea that government is like the air, to be noticed only when it is bad. We should use it more often and more intelligently every year to render service to all of us.

Is a man to be blamed or praised if he thinks much about ideal conditions which could not be attained in his own lifetime? Can you mention any characters in history who might be listed as of that type? How were these treated by the people of their own day? What does the world think of these now? Can men who are steeped in customs and traditions solve the problems of today? Can you get a fairer view of public questions in school or in the world outside?

We have laid stress on those ideals of America — liberty, equality, happiness, and democracy. In proportion as *every* individual enjoys the full benefit of these ideals to the extent that he can enjoy them, the nation as a whole will be free and happy and democratic. To educate each individual citizen, to give him high moral standards, to make it possible for him to develop his talents to the highest degree, is the surest way to make all our citizens the kind of people that should constitute an ideal nation. Having done this, so to order our affairs of government and our relations with other peoples, as to promote peace and order at home, good will among nations, and establish justice in the world, should be the aim of the government which represents our people. It can be done.

Who is to solve the problems of today which the leaders of today have not yet been able to settle? Who else than the people who today are in the schools of the United States, and who go the farthest in the path of education and experience? The high school or college graduate does not know as much as the cartoonist likes to represent him as thinking he does, but he is surely better qualified than those

who have not had his opportunities. If this study has made it possible for any of the boys and girls who are to be our future leaders to do better the work that will come to their hands in years ahead, it will have been well worth while. In a remarkable sense, "the Kingdom of God is within *you*."

Are high school and college students in general willing to accept responsibility? Are you?

∴ The United States of America will succeed if all its citizens develop in fullest measure their own talents and opportunities in such a way as to make all mankind happier and better.

SPECIAL STUDIES

A Hermit Nation.

The Importance of Leadership in a Democracy.

The United States in the Year 2000.

REFERENCE READINGS

Croly — The Promise of American Life.

Bryce — American Commonwealth, Chapters 122, 123.

Bryce — Modern Democracies, Chapter 80.

Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapter 40.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A
CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
PREAMBLE

WE the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. — LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. — CONGRESS

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. — HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

¹3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by add-

¹ Modified by Amendment XIV, Section 2, and Amendment XVI.

ing to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. — SENATE

¹1. [The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.]

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; ¹[and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies].

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

¹ Paragraph 1 and the last part of paragraph 2, in Section 3, have been replaced by Amendment XVII.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. — ELECTIONS AND SESSIONS

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. — GOVERNMENT AND RULES

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. — PRIVILEGES AND RESTRICTIONS

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. — PROCESS OF LAW-MAKING

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and, before the same shall take effect, shall

be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. — POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS¹

The Congress shall have power, —

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the

¹ Additional powers of Congress are mentioned in *Art. I, Sect. 2, par. 3*; *Sect. 4, par. 1*; *Sect. 6, par. 1*; *Art. II, Sect. 1, pars. 4, 6*; *Art. III, Sect. 2, pars. 2, 3*; *Sect. 3, par. 2*; *Art. IV, Sect. 1*; *Sect. 3, pars. 1, 2*; *Art. V*; *Amendment XIII, Sect. 2*; *Amendment XIV, Sects. 2, 3, 5*; *Amendment XV, Sect. 2*; *Amendment XVI*.

militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; — and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. — POWERS DENIED TO CONGRESS¹

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

* 4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement

¹ Amendments I to X are also, directly or indirectly, limitations on the powers of Congress.

² Modified by Amendment XVI

and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. — POWERS DENIED TO THE STATES¹

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. — EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. — THE PRESIDENT: ELECTION AND QUALIFICATIONS

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

¹ Supplemented by Amendments XIV and XV.

¹ 3. [The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

4. Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

¹ Replaced by Amendment XII.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2.—POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3.—DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public

ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. — REMOVAL OF OFFICIALS

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. — JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. — COURTS AND JUDGES

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. — JURISDICTION AND METHODS

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State,¹ between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within

¹ Modified by Amendment XI.

any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. — TREASON

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. — STATE RELATIONS

SECTION 1. — PUBLIC ACTS

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. — RIGHTS AND RESTRICTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. — NEW STATES AND NATIONAL POSSESSIONS

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no New State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. — PROTECTION OF STATES

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. — AMENDMENT

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. — AUTHORITY OF THE CONSTITUTION

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.'

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution;

but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. — RATIFICATION

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth.
In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

Go: WASHINGTON,
Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia,
[and thirty-eight other delegates.]

ARTICLES

IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ARTICLE I. — PERSONAL FREEDOM¹

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. — KEEPING AND BEARING ARMS¹

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — QUARTERING TROOPS¹

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — SECURITY OF THE HOME¹

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — SECURITY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT¹

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — RIGHTS OF PERSONS ACCUSED OF CRIME¹

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. — JURY TRIAL IN CIVIL CASES¹

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — BAIL AND PUNISHMENTS¹

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. — UNMENTIONED RIGHTS¹

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — POWERS RESERVED TO THE STATES¹

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI. — SUITS AGAINST STATES¹

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII. — ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT¹

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Represen-

¹ Amendments I to X were proposed by Congress in 1789. After ratification by the states they were proclaimed by the Secretary of State to be in force, 1791.

² Proposed, 1794, proclaimed in force, 1798.

³ Proposed, 1803, proclaimed in force, 1804.

tatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII. — SLAVERY¹

SECTION 1. — PROHIBITION

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV. — CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS²

SECTION 1. — CITIZENS AND THEIR RIGHTS

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of

¹ Proposed and proclaimed in force, 1865.

² Proposed, 1866, proclaimed in force, 1868.

life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. — APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. — LOSS OF POLITICAL PRIVILEGES

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. — PUBLIC DEBT

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. — ENFORCEMENT

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.—RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE¹

SECTION 1.—NEGRO SUFFRAGE

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2.—ENFORCEMENT

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI—INCOME TAXES²

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII—ELECTION OF SENATORS³

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII—INTOXICATING LIQUORS⁴

SECTION 1.—PROHIBITION

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the

¹ Proposed, 1869, proclaimed in force, 1870.

² Proposed, 1909, proclaimed in force, 1913.

³ Proposed, 1912, proclaimed in force, 1913.

⁴ Proposed, 1917, proclaimed in force, 1919.

importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. — TIME OF RATIFICATION

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States as provided in the Constitution within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX — EQUAL SUFFRAGE¹

SECTION 1. — VOTING RIGHTS

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Proposed, 1919, proclaimed in force, 1920.

APPENDIX B

* Starred titles are text-books either written particularly for high school use or easily within the comprehension of the high school student. Duplicate copies of such books will be found useful. Beard and Howe for city problems, and Gillette and Carney for rural problems, are also specially valuable.

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